

THE ANARCHIST AGE

Formerly the Libertarian Workers Bulletin



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Ellen Jose is an indigenous Australian artist of Torres Strait descent. In her work Ellen fuses indigenous Australian, Asian and European art forms.

Back Cover

Anarchy I'd never Work!! by Phil McCrory

Cartoons

Phil McCrory and Steve Cockburn

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Anarchism and Change

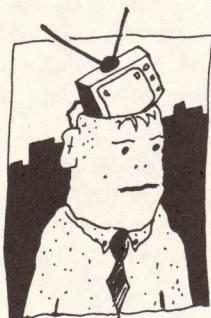
An anarchist group that cannot provide a realistic analysis of what is happening locally and in society at large, soon becomes irrelevant. A group that does not understand that society is constantly changing, and that cannot change its strategies in midstream, also becomes irrelevant.

Since the Australian Anarchist Centenary Celebrations in May 1986, members of the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society have held many discussions about their ideas, their basis of affinity and strategies that the group has used over the past ten years. "As We See It — Towards the 21st Century and Anarchists — Yesterday's people using yesterday's strategies to change yesterday's society are two articles that have been published in the first issue of the Anarchist Age, that tackle the issue of the relevance of our ideas and strategies to modern society.

The Anarchist Age is one of the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society's new initiatives. It is hoped that this new magazine will provide a forum for Anarchists to make Anarchism a living, breathing, force that is relevant to people's desires and needs.

The magazine will be published twice a year and we encourage contributions that attempt to make anarchism relevant to people. We hope The Anarchist Age will become a magazine that challenges people's beliefs and encourages people to organize their lives on the basis of decision-making and economic equality.

Joseph Toscano



As We See It

The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society Look Towards the 21st Century

An Anarchist society is a voluntary non-hierarchical society based on the creation of political and social structures which are formed on the basis of equal decision making power and which allow all people equal access to that society's wealth.

Introduction

The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society is an Anarchist Group which has been in existence in Melbourne, Australia since 1977.

This pamphlet outlines our viewpoint on the world today and forms the basis of our political programme towards the Year 2000.

The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society meet regularly and as a group and as individuals we are involved in propagating Anarchist ideas in the communities in which we live and in the places where we work.

The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society are responsible for the production of The Anarchist Age an Anarchist newspaper full of local, national and international anarchist news. We also produce "Anarchism the Third Alternative", a half hour radio programme of Anarchist news and views which is broadcast on 3CR (837 a.m.) every alternative Wednesday at 11.00 a.m. The Group runs an Anarchist Library which is open to the public which has material from over 40 countries in 25 languages. We are also the custodians of the Boris Francheschini Memorial Library (Italian Anarchist Library).

The Anarchist Media Institute is another Libertarian Workers project. The Anarchist Media Institute organises public discussion meetings, provides speakers for groups who wish to learn more about Anarchism, and also provides speakers for

newspaper, radio and television interviews.

Members of the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society are also actively involved in a number of other Melbourne Anarchist Groups.

1. Throughout the world, people in all societies are divided into two main groups — those with power and those without power.

In Australia the ruling class is divided into a number of different groups — those who own the means of production, distribution and exchange, the directors of transnational and national corporations, speculators, high ranking government bureaucrats, media barons, cultural entrepreneurs, the higher echelons of church hierarchies and the top echelons within the armed forces, prisons and legal system — the disciplinary arms of the State.

What distinguishes the ruling class is that they are mainly order givers not order takers. Although most people in society are both order givers and order takers, most welfare recipients, non-paid home workers and child raisers, industrial, service, government and rural wage earners as well as self-employed people and farmers (who don't employ wage labour to run their business or farm) are normally order takers not order givers.

The traditional categories of class analysis have changed. The traditional working class is rapidly disappearing due to the influences of technology and an increasing ascendancy of a competitive ideology. It can be said that most people are in positions where they are forced to live their lives in a manner that they would not themselves choose. They are kept in this position by the use of force, i.e. economic demands and/or the coercive arm of the state. People have little or no say in the decisions which deeply and directly affect their lives; they are bossed at work, in community life and at home.

People never feel the power of co-operative work over their day to day lives and therefore lack confidence in their ability to control

their own lives without the need of leaders, bosses and rulers.

2. The changes promised by relative improvements in the standards of living, increasing state control of the means of production, the ascendancy of social democrat, marxist and new right governments, all claiming to provide for the human needs of people, have not led to real freedom.

The reality is that these apparent changes have not effected the basic status of the ordinary person. We are still directed, manipulated and tied directly and indirectly to work. Few have been freed.

Capitalism, whether controlled by the state, corporation or the individual, remains an inhuman type of society where the vast majority are bossed at work and home and manipulated in consumption and leisure.

Media, the legal system, police and schools, impose values and morality which all serve to reinforce the power of the few and convince and coerce the many into acceptance of a brutal, degrading and irrational system.

Moreover the Capitalist and Marxist systems have created new, hitherto unthought of problems: ecological disaster, the threat of world war III, growing destruction of the planet's life support systems, the ruination of much of Africa, Asia and Latin American and the breakdown of numerous societies.

Neither Capitalism or Communism have delivered what they have promised the worker.

The Communist world is not Communist and the Free World is not free!

As Anarchists we reject the terms "left" and "right" to describe governments and social and political movements. In today's world the terms "left" and "right" are irrelevant as all "left" or "right" wing governments, as well as most social and political movements, are characterised by centralisation of power and wealth.

Instead, we evaluate these movements by their tendencies to centralise or decentralise power and

wealth. Decentralisation of power and wealth is central to anarchist philosophy and strategy.

3. Anarchism is essentially an international movement recognising common humanity. We recognise that hierarchical power structures and capitalism are international problems. The present hierarchy of nations and the increasing centralising of multinational capital necessitates an international perspective as these structures oppress us all.

We recognise however the individual and unique characteristics of regional movements and solutions and encourage peoples in these movements to develop individual strategies based on egalitarian values and practice to meet these situations.

4. As anarchists we advocate a society in which the production and distribution of the requirements of that society are controlled, not by a few people as at present, but by means of decisions made through a system of organisation in which all people have the ability to create and influence the decisions arrived at.

This will be achieved by the creation of such institutions as workers and community councils based on direct democracy; that is, the involvement of all affected people in the decision making process by using a system of elected and revocable delegates. Delegates do not make decisions, they present decisions made by the community they represent and they, with other community and work delegates co-ordinate decisions made by the affected community and workers councils. Any co-ordination plan made by delegates is always brought back and ratified by the group the delegate represents. Delegates are not full-time officials; they are elected to co-ordinate and present particular decisions made by the community that elects them. Decisions will be made via consensus. If, in regard to a particular decision, consensus cannot be reached, the people whom that decision effects will cast a voluntry vote to determine the proportion of people advocating various alternatives. The community wealth

will then be distributed to the various majorities/minorities to enable them to further their particular preferences (as long as these are based on the anarchist principles — equal distribution of wealth/equal decision making power). The **basis** of an anarchist society is the democratisation of society from its very roots.

5. Australian farmers and the self-employed are nearly always seen as being on the side of the Australian ruling class.

Ideologues who praise individual enterprise, deregulation, small government, welfare cuts and controls on trade unions have attempted to harness dissatisfaction among farmers and the self-employed by driving a wedge between them and wage earners and welfare recipients. These people have equated gains by wage earners and welfare recipients as gains which are won at the expense of the self-employed and farmers.

The reality which faces the self-employed, farmers, wage earners and welfare recipients is the same; monopoly capital through the banks, the money markets, transnational corporations and upper rank government bureaucrats control their day to day lives. An analysis of class based on power is the only analysis that adequately describes how these groups are controlled by the ruling class.

6. Late in the nineteenth century the Australian Trade Unions and the Australian Labor Party were formed to protect wage earners against exploitation by the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Today trade unions have been absorbed into the existing patterns of exploitation in Australian society. They have become an integral indispensable part of Australian capitalism. Australian capitalism could not function without their willing involvement. Participation in parliamentary "democracy" through political parties and elections incorporates dissension into acceptable manageable channels.

Apathy of the powerless is an understandable reaction because the groups that have been formed to protect the interests of the powerless now actively inhibit change

and maintain the status quo. The trade unions and political parties cannot be reformed, "captured", or converted into instruments of egalitarian social change. We don't however call for the proclamation of new centralised, hierarchical trade unions and political parties because they would suffer a similar fate to the old ones.

Our aims are simply that people themselves should decide on the objectives of their struggles and that the control and the organisation of these struggles should remain firmly in their own hands not in the hands of professional bureaucrats.

7. Anything that encourages the passivity of the people, the apathy, cynicism, and their reliance on others to do things for them (which permits a high degree of manipulation even by those allegedly acting on their behalf), we consider sterile and harmful.

Meaningful action for anarchists is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, and solidarity and the egalitarian tendencies of people and whatever assists in their understanding of society.

8. We do not accept the view that people are only interested in material rewards. On the contrary, we believe that our conditions of life and our experience of work constantly drive us to adopt new priorities and values and to find methods of organisation which challenge the established order and established pattern of thought.

On the other hand, people are fragmented, dispossessed of the means of communication and are at different levels of awareness and consciousness.

It is necessary that Anarchist ideas and actions are actively supported and defended to enable people to breakout of their isolation and hopelessness and face the task of organising their struggle autonomously and equally. This is the role of the Anarchist organisation.

It is done by carrying out meaningful actions which generalise the idea of self-management, supporting such actions of others, and opposing sterile action.

The anarchist organisation cannot abdicate criticism of any people's struggle which is controlled and directed hierarchically nor can it support the ruling classes of state capitalism in Russia and China or their employees as represented by the national liberation fronts in the Third World and in the Marxist-Leninist parties of the industrialised countries.

9. As people begin to organise on a non-hierarchical basis they will find that the ruling class, like all those throughout history, will not relinquish its power without a struggle, and our present rulers are unlikely to be an exception. Those soldiers and police who are also suppressed politically and economically will find themselves in a difficult situation when ordered by their bosses to suppress fellow workers.

We encourage soldiers and police who share in our ideas to form their own anarchist organisations within these forces, or to resign from the police or defence forces.

In a self-managed society, those hierarchical organisations will dissolve, and defence and social justice will be maintained by the workers' and community councils.

The building of anarchism will require mass understanding and mass participation. Compared to the spontaneous and voluntary action of the majority of people, the State, the boss and their executives are pathetic; as are those Social Democrats and Marxists who pretend to represent workers while trying to gain personal control of political and economic organisations through the existing hierarchical system.

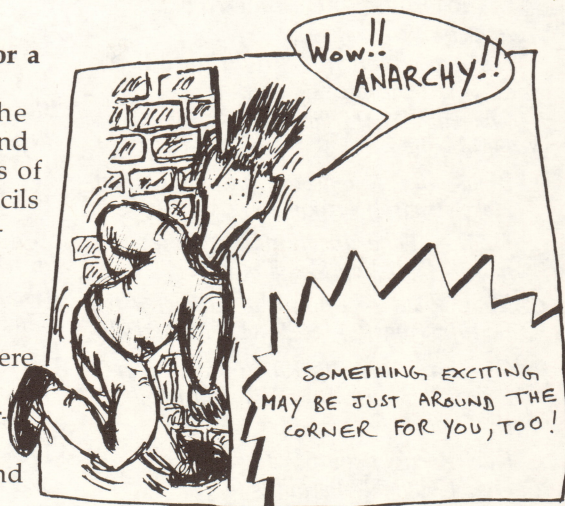
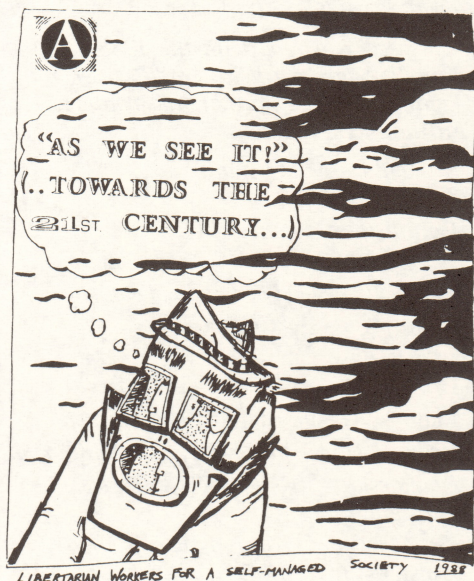
10. The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society is an organised group unified around the essential demand for workers and community councils as the basis of direct democracy. In these councils people will have equal decision-making power.

We do not see ourselves as yet another leadership, but merely people in anarchist struggle where we live and work. We do not reflect values of leadership internally. Our structure is based on equal decision-making power and

autonomy.

As an individual member or as a minority, different political opinions on the best way to achieve these aims are able to be held and publicly articulated as the position of a minority opposed to the majority.

The function of this statement is to help all those who are in conflict with the present authoritarian social structure, both in the work place and in society at large, to generalise their experience, to make a total critique of their conditions and its causes, not just ones of their particular situation, and to build autonomous organisations. We encourage you to take part in an organised movement which is striving to make these aims a reality because isolated individuals acts, no matter how courageous or full of integrity, are easily defeated by ruling class oppression.



LETTERS — LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

We could not write to you for a long time. In this period we stopped publishing "KARA" and started to publish a new review "EFENDISIZ" (means "Masterless"). We sent you two issues. We want to get the Libertarian Workers Bulletin again.

On the other hand, we want to know something about the Australian, Korean, Japanese and Chinese anarchist movements. Because we will publish in our review, a series of articles about world anarchist movements. If you can send us material about these movements they will be very helpful.

We are waiting for your reply as soon as possible.

In solidarity
"Efendisiz"

UFUK OZCAN P.K. 953.34437
SIRKECI—ISTANBUL, TURKEY

Dear Friends,

Enclosed is a report on the 1988 Dutch Anarchist Whitsunday weekend camp and a list of anarchist contacts in the Netherlands.

Students — ASO, pb. 55581, Amsterdam

Feminists — Domein 100, Tilburg, Pb. 1610, Nijmegen.

Syndicalism — Pb. 61523, Den Haag.

Camping — Aekingaweg 1a, Appelscha.

Periodicals — Blaf pb. 411, Utrecht.

Flam — (Flame) pb 1610, Nijmegen

Vrije — (Free) pub 5412, Amsterdam

Raaf/assw — (Raven) pb 35061, Amsterdam

As — (Anarch. socialistic) pb 35061, Amsterdam

Recht voor Allen (van onder op) — (right for all) (from under) pb 37, Appelscha

Recht voor Allen — (right for all) pb 48, Oosterwolde

Liberrat, Aletta Jacobserf — 266, Dordrecht

Blaaskaak, — (gasbag) p/a bhl Portaal, Hekelstraat II, Alkmaar.

Dow — (The upside down turned world) baarshof 14, Tilburg.

Maandblad — (monthly humor) Burg, Baduinstraat 64, 6224XD, Maastricht.

Or please write to Karl or the Libertarian Workers if you want a copy of the report.

Karl Kreuger, pb 61523,
Den Haag, Netherlands.

Dear Comrades,

The West German Health System faces big changes and new Organisation Structures. The ruling class hopes to make hospitals work like factories and to be more effective with less health workers. This made the health workers all over the country get out of their lethargy and start all sorts of activities. We are very interested in the struggles in the Australian health system, especially in the hospital strike.

We have produced a number of leaflets, you find our last one enclosed. The first ones were made by hospital workers and spread within a hospital. This leaflet is made out of patients-insight, several thousand copies are spread all over the city. We've described the situation in the hospitals here and gave some examples of fights against it from Great Britain and Australia. (We've found something in "Black Flag", produced in London).

I hope you can send us more material.

In Solidarity,

Yours,

Karsten, West Germany

Dear Comrades,

Please write and order more "SPARKS" if required. Also if your members come across any information, poems, graphics, etc. that may be of interest to Public Transport Workers, can you pass them on?

Any enquiries please write.

Yours in struggle,

Iain, Group Secretary PTW.A.

P.O. Box 1066

North Richmond, Vic. 3121
Australia.

Dear Friends,

I commend you for putting out one of the most sensible papers going. You are one of the very few who realise the danger of voting away one's power.

And of course you present other very important ideas and you give people like me a soap box to air our views. Thank you for being there.

One thing I find lacking in almost all papers is the desire to dig for the **basic reason** why the world is in the fix it is in.

I see:

1. the papers rehashing the old rhetoric.
2. them crying, "Ain't it awful".
3. them telling the horror stories of our exploitation.

That is, most papers point out the results, i.e. the symptoms. That is a very necessary work. Many workers think things are like they always have been and always will be and try to make the best of their place in life. They are not aware that they have a right to a better life. So keep up the good work.

BUT

If a paper wishes to help people get out of the present world-wide mud hole, then I think it must point out the **PRIME REASON** why people are doing these bad things to our planet and its people.

We cannot find a proper solution until we clearly pinpoint and identify the basic cause of the problem.

Once we locate the prime reason, we will be very close to the solution. Once one can see the culprit, the solution becomes clearer, very logical and simple.

Then it remains to just redirect our energies from our struggling and screaming into building a system which will not contain that prime reason why certain people start wars, cause starvation, steal, pollute our environment and make us pay taxes.

I think I have localized the prime cause of our problems and present it in the Little Free Press.

I believe that I present the logical, simple system which will not contain the **REASON** to do the above bad things to people and our planet.

The Little Free Press is available free of charge. However, postage would be appreciated. It is printed with "Reprinting Permissible", so if you can relate to these solutions you are free to reprint them.

Sincerely,

Ernest Mann,
Little Free Press,
2714 1st Avenue S.
Minneapolis, MN 55408
USA

Hello Lib. Workers,

Would like to see this very interesting publication sent my way in the future. I'll enclose \$20 N.Z. and I'm sure you'll put that over and above that required, as per the subs. rates, to good use.

Best wishes to all involved.

Dayle, New Zealand.

To our Comrades throughout the World,

The Union of Anarchists in Greece is a fact. We do not claim to express all the groups and individuals with an anarchist presence and activity in our society. We represent ourselves, our choices of action and way of life as it is expressed in the declaration.

We aim to make anarchist ideas a permanent, live, subversive, creative and catalytic force in our society.

We aim to show with our actions that the struggle between the community of free human beings and the Power Elite will be to the end. The stakes are high: Social Revolution or the barbarism of the society of total control.

We rely on our comrades all over the world for exchange of experiences and a flow of information regarding social struggles, perspectives of the movement against Capital in your countries, and information about state repression.

CONTACTS: UNION OF ANARCHISTS, Voulgaroktonou, 27a Athens, 11472, Greece.

LETTERS: P.O. Box 26050, 10022, Greece.

Dear Libertarian Workers,

Thank you for your letter. We are glad that you will send us your journal *Libertarian Workers Bulletin*. We have received the May Issue in June, 1986 and hope you'll send it regularly. Sorry I haven't answered your letter earlier but here is the list of the libertarian periodicals we are receiving at the moment from Europe.

Fraternally yours,

Leif Andersen,
TIDSSKRIFTCENTRET
Longangsstraede 37C
1468 Kobenhavn K
Denmark.

Note: This list is available through the *Libertarian Workers*.

Dear Anarchists,

I listened to your program on 3CR today with great interest. Congratulations on being a thoughtful show! I feel that the principles and concepts of the Anarchist Society are in accord with my own perspective.

Indeed an egalitarian society — the withering away of bureaucracy, class relations, and hierarchical institutions — is highly desirable. As your program correctly pointed out: the Labor Government and the Trade Unions have been co-opted into the capitalist structure. The individual is exploited for economic and political ends by impersonal structures masquerading behind a "democratic" veneer.

Nevertheless, programs such as yours are inspiring as they give hope to those people perceptive enough to see beyond the humbug that is accepted uncritically by the masses.

I am pleased to note that you are planning important events for the coming year; I hope they are all successful.

I am keen to find out more about this dynamic society of anarchists. Consequently, I have enclosed \$1.50 for a copy of your Anarchist Calendar. I would be pleased to accept an invitation to your next discussion meeting as an opportunity to find out more about this exciting association. I look forward to your reply.

Regards,

JOHN. Melbourne/Australia.

Hello, my name is Patrick,

After reading the article published in the July-December edition of the "*Libertarian Workers Bulletin*". I am anxious to meet, and become affiliated with the group. My background knowledge of Anarchy and its ideas, have come primarily through my tastes in music, and reading. I have not any real ideas which have come through discussion, or practical experience, as I am from quite a stale suburb. I would appreciate it if you would look upon this letter favourably enough to reply to it and provide me with literature, and addresses for future correspondence. I admire the honesty with which the article was written, and I find it very refreshing that people actually care about our sad plight.

Patrick. Melbourne/Australia.

Dear Friends,

I've just heard from Marianne Enckell (C.I.R.A. Geneva) that the international gathering in Lyon 1989 will no longer be held due to a lack of people willing to carry the organisational work. A shame. I was hoping to attend, suggest two discussion topics, and help with the interpreting.

I've recently came back from two weeks in which I attended the 5-day national meeting of the West German anti-sexist men's movement (a copy of a "report" enclosed for interest) and spent a week with acquaintances in Switzerland. I had a very interesting and enervating time. While in Geneva a copy of the documentation (Vol. 1) of the AACC arrived and Marianne passed it on to me.

I've been thinking a little about anarchist "feast days". I agree with the feelings behind the suggestion that we re-discover/invent particular events to celebrate. May 1st (and perhaps) IWD, March 8th) are possibilities. Last year I invited about 20 friends for a feast on the anniversary of Kropotkin's death (February 8th, 1921) and cooked, together with the others in my house, a big Russian meal. I'm not sure what kinds of feast days would be best, but these are just a few things I've been trying out. Any other ideas?

Also from Marianne I heard that there's an academic symposium on anarchism to be held in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, at the end of March next year. I hope to go along and will write soon to the organiser, Laslo Sekelj, author of a book on anarchism *QANARHIZMU* (1982). He doesn't consider himself an anarchist, but seems pretty open-minded if my reading of the book is any guide. I am trying to make contact with anarchists in Yugoslavia and have several more addressed to follow up when I am there. I hope to spend some time in Ljubljana where I have a few contacts. When I was in Zagreb at Easter I saw a copy of an anarchist reader in Slovenian in a bookstore, which I think is a good sign.

Stay in touch. Best regards,

Will/Yugoslavia.

P.S. We will forward any response to this letter onto Will, LWSS.

Dear Friends,

Thank you for responding so quickly to our letter! It was great to hear from you and to receive your support. Please feel free to publish our mission statement and appeal for help in *The Anarchist Age*. We place great value on the support and information you and your readers can offer us. Do not hesitate to take any action on our behalf which may lead us to the works of oppressed playwrights in Australia or throughout the world.

We will write to the Anarchist magazines listed in your paper. We have already contacted many Anarchist organizations in New York and are receiving their support.

Let's keep in touch. We support you in your struggle and would like to develop a mutual relationship in which we can help each other achieve our goals. Again, thank you for your support.

Courage,

Hilary Weingarten,
Research and Correspondence Director.
The Platform.
23 Lexington Ave
Suite 1606
New York, NY 10010
U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

Thank you so much for sending me the beautiful album of the Anarchist Celebrations. I was very happy to see on paper so many friends gathered in such a way...

Also I must inform you that the planned meeting in Lyon in 1989 will probably not take place, for various reasons but especially for lack of interest and collaboration of most of the comrades. It is postponed to some ulterior date, nevertheless, there will be probably several smaller meetings and conferences in France during the year, under the slogan "Allons, enfants de l'anarchie..." You will receive a circular letter from Lyon at some point.

My regards to Libera and to the other famous persons in Melbourne. All the best.

Marianne,
Case postale 51
CH-1211 Geneve 13. Switzerland.

Dear People,

Having seen a copy of the latest L.W. Bulletin (a very good issue too) I no-

ticed our address wasn't in the contact list.

We are a small affinity group but still active in our sporadic way. The P.O. Box used to be for the Red and Black, which closed a few years ago. We are experiencing harassment from police and land lords in the run up to Expo '88, but hope to stay active into next year...

Best of luck in your activities.

West End Anarchists,
P.O. Box 332
North Quay 4002
Queensland. Australia.

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for the Centenary issue of your paper. I found much of the material very interesting and informative. I had no concept of the scope of the history of the Australian anarchist movement. (Despite hearing some of it from Bob James at the Venezia conclave a couple of years ago). So, I was glad to read Bob's article in the issue. I was also glad to see, from your listing of groups and papers extant in Australia and New Zealand, that the anarchists have so large a presence. The number of groups and papers that are being issued seem somewhat larger than the equivalent here in the U.S. Though, we may in total, have more individuals who identify themselves as Anarchist, there are few functioning groups and even fewer papers and reviews that appear regularly.

I was impressed by the varied nature of the materials you publish. From traditional anarcho-sindicalist thinking, to the articles on health care, participation in the parliamentary process, to the very interesting historical perspective, and of course, the international news. My own interest tends towards examination of anarchist perspectives for the future (if any). Practical applications of anarchist thinking to the problems we all face. "How to work together with non-anarchist groups that work for ends we share". "How to build anarchist structures that address themselves to the real world." "Is the Revolution, in fact, a myth?" "Can we, in fact, invent alternatives to the moribund institutions that prevent human-kind from acting for its own welfare?" "How can we live in this world, the world that demands compromise with our ideals in order to simply stay alive, without peddling our arses? More to the point, where does advocacy of our ideals become a mockery and in fact dishonest?" Over

the years, as a union construction worker, trying to raise a family, I struggled mightily with the awareness of having to draw the line. That is, compromising as little as possible, and at the same time, try to invent libertarian alternatives. To this end, we experimented with communal living, and more importantly, a group of us started an alternative school thirty years ago which still exists.

If you are interested in seeing a copy of an article I wrote on the history of this school, I'll be glad to send it on to you. I only recently finished it and have sent a copy to *The Raven* in England to see if they would be interested in publishing it. The German paper *TRAFIK* is going to publish it in their September issue. I'm enclosing a cheque. Place me on your mailing list. If you have contact with Bob James, give him my regards.

Comradely,

David. California/U.S.A.

Dear Libertarians,

I've just been listening to your programme on 3CR.... Do you have any information on anarchism in Japan (in Japanese or English?). Do you also know of any studies detailing the parallels between anarchism and early Taoist philosophy?

I'm also interested in obtaining a copy of your new "Manifesto".

Thank you,

Paul. Melbourne/Australia.

Dear Libertarian Workers,

Thanks for sending your Bulletin. I've included it in the Publications Received section of Anti-System 12 — a copy of which is enclosed. There is so much reading in the L.W. Bulletin! I've only just started and have been impressed with what I have read so far.

Action not apathy,

Simon, C/- Anarchy Organisation,
P.O. Box 14156, Kilbirnie, Wellington
New Zealand.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Recently when in Melbourne I happened to hear a talk by your group on Radio 3CR. It seemed to me that you were putting into words a number of ideas that I have thought or felt for some time.

I am writing in the hope that you can send me more information about your organization.

Yours sincerely,

William. Melbourne/Australia.

Dear Friends,

I have accidentally caught your show on 3CR a few times now and it makes so much sense to me. My knowledge of Anarchism is fairly limited — I've read Emma Goldman's autobiography, George Orwell's "Homage to Catalonia" and seen the slogans on the walls 'If voting could change anything it would be made illegal.' — good stuff.

I would be interested in reading your literature and hearing of any recommended books. I'm especially interested in radical ecology and broad ideologies that can lead us towards a sustainable healthy environment. Anarchism seems to offer an ideology that fits both the needs of humans and this planet.

Thanks for a thought provoking and entertaining radio show and any info you can send.

Yours, etc.

John./Melbourne/Australia.

To Whom It May Concern,

I write requesting information on your organisation, and perhaps any other anarchist groups in Melbourne.

I am particularly concerned about the imminent elections and am interested in your voting policy as I am in a dilemma about my own.

Yours truly,

Marito./Melbourne/Australia.

Dear L.W.S.S.,

I have just received the letter you sent to Larry Law on August 24th, the postal workers have been on strike.

Larry died suddenly in July and I am dealing with all his business and replying to his correspondents. Spectacular Times was very much a one-person effort, until his death I was only involved in production. So sadly there will be no new output. The titles in print will continue to do so through anarchist distribution also at 846 Whitechapel High Street.

Without Larry I have no access to video-copying, so "Are You in a Bad State" is no longer for sale. If anyone requests a copy after your showing the video, please do one for them.

Please pass on the news to anyone you think ought to know.

Yours,

Liz, Spectacular Times

Box 99 Freedom Press
84B Whitechapel High Street
London, E1 70X
U.K.

Dear L.W.S.S.,

Many thanks for Vol. 1 of the A.A.C.C. and As We See It. I read "As We See It". It's a very good pamphlet, very instructive. I know the outline of your activities in the introduction and also I understand the situation of Australian farmers and self employed. The circumstances of farmers in Japan are almost the same. They are a favourable voting constituency for the conservative party in Japan.

You are going to visit China. I feel a great esteem for your unrelenting efforts. But much to my regret, I haven't any connection to Chinese anarchists.

I had an invitation to the International Seminar for the World Peace in Seoul, Korea, from Ha Ki-Rak. It will be held on 28-31. I am in the hope of participating in it.

Anarchist's Love,

A.A. Miura/Tokyo/Japan.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I would like more information about your group and forthcoming events.

I listened to your program on 3CR and understood that if I included \$1 I could receive a booklet. I'll include \$2 as my \$1 notes have become collectors items.

Yours sincerely,

Graham./Melbourne/Australia.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am interested in your organisation and would be grateful if you could send me information about your aims and beliefs, and the sorts of things you actively take part in to help your cause.

Yours sincerely,

Tim/Melbourne/Australia.

Dear Comrades,

For six years we have been publishing an "International Journal for libertarian culture and politics — TRAFIK". We present contemporary statements of libertarian thinking and practice and report about the international anar-

chist movement. Also we report contributions to a libertarian culture in historical and practical ways and review new books, films, music, etc. Until now we have edited 28 issues of our journal.

We are distributing music-cassettes, photo books, etc. from all over the world in Germany. A friend from Canberra told us last month that you have published a book about the Anarchist Meeting in Melbourne two years ago. We can imagine that some German comrades will be interested in your book.

All the best and greetings.

Peter, Eduardstrabe 40

D-4330 Mulheim 1

Psk. ESN. 261345-436, West Germany.

Dear Friends,

"Don't know how I got it, but I've just been reading the 'Australian Anarchist Centenary Edition' of the libertarian workers bulletin." I kind of liked it! and congratulations of course (sounds boring, I know, but still...).

But let me introduce myself. I'm an editor of the Dutch 'Anarcho-Socialist' quarterly 'deAS'. Right now, I'm preparing an article on Max Stirner and well, I was just wondering whether there are Australian editor(s) of his 'Der Einzige und Eigan-tum' and whether there is someone who can tell me something on Stirner's influence in Australia... could anyone of you please help me??

Unfortunately I've no copy of 'deAS' at hand but if you're interested let me know and I could arrange a regular sending.

Recently a Dutch sociologist wrote a book about the 'Dutch in Australia'. Would be fun if a 'Dutch Australian Anarchist' would write a review for 'deAS', don't you think?

So I hope to hear from you. All the best!

Peace and Anarchy,

Cees, 'deAS',

Pb35061 Rotterdam The Netherlands.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I would like to further my knowledge on your group's activities and beliefs. I first came across the term Anarchist when I read the book "Homage to Catalonia" and was interested by the Anarchist's beliefs that I read in the book.

If you could send me any information or reference of people I could see I would be very grateful.

Yours sincerely,

Matthew./Geelong/Australia.

Anarchists — Yesterday's People Using Yesterday's Strategies to Change Yesterday's Society

"An Anarchist society is a voluntary non-hierarchical society based on the creation of political and social structures which are based on equal decision-making power and which allow all people equal access to that society's wealth".

Introduction

Although Australian Anarchists celebrated their centenary in Melbourne in 1986, we are considered little more than an interesting curiosity. In the past anarchists have had little or no influence on the development of Australian society, today we are viewed by most people as irrelevant. We are "Yesterday's people, using yesterday's strategies to change yesterday's society."

A society based on technology needs voluntary human input not robots to keep it functioning. In Australia this input is centered around the illusion that Australians ultimately control their destinies and their communities. As a consequence of the need for human autonomy in technological based societies, anarchist ideas and anarchist modes of organization are being corrupted and used in an increasing number of institutions and workplaces both in the private and public sector. Anarchist modes of organization are being adapted because they are inherently more efficient and productive than modes of organization which are based on force and hierarchy. They are manipulated in such a way as to not release real power but to give a feeling of power.

The myth that Australian society is based on economic and decision making equality is constantly reinforced by the all enveloping mass media. Reality is defined and redefined by the spectacle which is beamed into our lives. Family, social, community, cultural and work influences have all taken a backseat to this constant electronic bombardment. Australian society is a society whose very essence is

created and manipulated by the mass media.

The power of the old feudal lords and the church has been replaced by the power of corporations who own access to information and who own mass communication monopolies. Through their ownership of information and the mass media monopoly capitalists not only have control of the economic and political processes of this country, they are also able to manipulate desires, feelings, create wants and control people's very thoughts. The straight jacket of nationalism and orthodox religious thinking has been replaced by the straight jacket of a mass culture based on consumerism.

The spectacle of mass consumption, exploitation, domination and hierarchy, is fostered and sustained by the people who control access, distribution and packaging of information. The myth that we live in an egalitarian caring society, and that people can control their own lives forms the cornerstone of this spectacle. Reality and fiction have become blurred.

Culture, community life, family life, education and work have all become entities that foster the living nightmare based on mass consumption that we call living.

Today participation in the spectacle is encouraged and fostered by the availability of consumer credit. Buy now, participate in the spectacle and mortgage your life away is the reality facing Australian workers today.

A question of class

As the end of the 20th Century approaches, so called radical thinkers are still clinging to 19th Century ideas of class. Ideas as dated as those of the capitalists they wish to destroy.

At best, a class analysis of society; like any analysis, is but a simplification; an attempt to rationalise into an understandable structure a system of great complexity. Lucki-

ly, for Marx and the other 19th Century thinkers, they lived in a society of less complexity than the one we now find ourselves in. As a result class analysis proved a very useful tool in building revolutionary movements in the past because it described a reality that people could easily identify with. The main reason for this was the existence of a easily recognizable industrial working class, which due to Marxist theology began to be seen as the class which was historically predestined to lead the revolution. Many radicals still believe this despite the fact that this class has only had limited success in revolutionary situations, but has also begun to disappear as a self-aware or easily-identifiable group. Allied to this is the fact that with the technological revolution presently underway we have seen and are seeing a dissipation of the traditional urban, industrial class. In the past the labour intensive nature of industry aided the development and spread of ideas among these workers. Today we see modern technology producing workplaces with a minimal number of workers. Workers ideas are now developed and spread by the ever pervasive mass media.

We do not for a moment reject the idea of a ruling class. This class, consists of owners of multinational and national corporations, top level government bureaucrats, military leaders, etc. They dominate the entire international economy and our lives. (It's also true to say we don't have an awful lot of time for their lackeys).

The reality facing the self-employed, farmers, wage earners and welfare recipients is the same. Monopoly capital, through the banks, the money markets, transnational and national corporations and upper-rank government bureaucrats control their day to day lives.

The situation which has arisen is that not only do "free-enterprise capitalists" attempt to drive

wedges between these groups, but they are often ably assisted by the workerist groups of both a "leftist" and anarchist hue. Approaching an analysis of class from the position of power relationships is the only method that can adequately describe most peoples positions relative to the ruling class that oppresses us all.

Marginalisation Deviance Amplification and the Mystique of Violence.

Anarchists; those who actively and consciously extoll the ideas of a free, non hierarchical and communal society, have always been a relatively small proportion of the society they live in. It is true to say that many people and organisations, both social and industrial practice anarchist ideals at some level. Anarchist ideals of mutual aid and cooperation are commonly articulated but few people clearly define themselves as anarchists by promoting these ideals and communicating a vision of the future.

Several dangers exist because of this; (a) the potential for vanguardism, and the perception that these ideals somehow are the property of some anarchist mileu which entitles anarchists to take action for the "less enlightened" groups in society; (b) the development of a self defining group which rapidly closes itself off to the wider society it exists in; (c) the personal isolation of anarchists.

These factors isolate movements from the societies they exist in. This encourages the development of rigid and conservative strategies which emphasis deviance. This promotes fear amongst the wider population who see inflexible attitudes and threats to their relatively stable albeit nowhere near perfect existence. This fear can be, and is, readily used by the state in its many forms to further marginalise groups such that any potential influence or ability to promote the ideals of anarchy are greatly diminished.

Marginalised groups readily lose credibility and are targeted as scape goats when the state wants to further tighten its hold by promoting fear amongst people.

Marginalisation of todays anarchist movement is the most effective

weapon the state can use. By defining anarchist groups as an aberration of the normal political/social process and by promoting an image of social normality they quickly and effectively disenfranchise anarchists. Violent and so called "criminal" behaviour and acts are highlighted in the mass media (the new church of the state) These acts are attributed to anarchists or a generalised group which includes anarchists. This further alienates anarchists from society.

Anarchists have always had a bad press. This largely arises from the excesses of individual action which are incorrectly defined as anarchist, and which deliberately falsified by a threatened state. These violent images have become self fulfilling to some extent particularly on the fringes of the anarchist movement and a huge amount of time and effort is spent attempting to correct these inaccurate images.

Some anarchists seem to almost revel in these images either as a means of ego extention or to add a mystic dimension to their existence. This is negative in the long term for the movement and the individual and can often blurr reality for these people. The all pervasive nature of the marginalising of small groups by the state is such that even anarchists come to believe much of the image provided by the state. They in turn react by withdrawing from active anarchist involvement or immerse themselves in a sub culture defined by jargon, dress and behaviour or by relating primarily with other anarchists both at home work and leisure.

Contact with ordinary people is rapidly lost and deviant behaviour increases. This further alienates wider groups in society. This leads anarchists to have a negative perception of society as a whole.

Small isolated groups and individuals quickly lose track of the fact that an anarchist revolution is a social revolution. An anarchist society arises when the majority of people in society wan't change. Isolated groups and individuals can easy be coerced into taking unilateral actions, thinking their example may lead the "impoverished masses" to emulate their actions. Such vanguardist actions are not anarchist, but are egoistical and reflect a clouded vi-

sion and are more in keeping with a marxist strategy of change. Revolution led by an elite for the benefit of the masses.

The mystique of violence seems to permeate through anarchist culture much of it coming from the state not from anarchist events or ideas. Anarchism should be a rational progressive ideology not tied to irrational or statist behaviour.

Another form of marginalisation is that many anarchists have committed huge amounts of time and effort to a cause which often shows little progress, this time and effort has often been at the expense of personal development or achievement outside the relatively closed anarchist world. People cling to ideas with academic zeal, relate only to other like persons, communicate in language foreign to ordinary people and in time become frustrated and angry with the wider world who do not understand their ideas. They become frustrated transmitting basic ideas, because ordinary people do not seem to understand them. They fail to see that its their language and introspective views that are not understood, not their ideas. Many ordinary people are put off by small isolated groups who exist in stoic or monastic social surroundings.

The way small groups and individuals are marginalised especially those who challenge the legitimacy of the state need to be studied carefully by the anarchist movement. We must challenge the underlying tendency to vanguardist strategy which, comes from real or imaginary isolation. Stronger links with the general community and greater flexibility recognising that we are merely articulators of an ideal not custodians will help the anarchist mileu support and encourage the movement towards popular social change.

Strategy for Change

The 20th Century has seen revolutionary upheaval all across the globe. Nationalists, marxist and religious dictatorships, as well as parliamentary democracies, have been established as a consequence of revolutionary upheavels. Millions have died but not one society based on anarchist principles has been established for any length of time anywhere in the world.

During periods of revolutionary upheaval, especially in situations where vanguard groups have only had a minimal role in that change, people spontaneously form workers and community councils which are based on direct democracy and which allow all people access to that society's wealth. The Paris commune of 1871, Anarchist Spain during the Spanish revolution 1936-1939, Hungary '56, Czechoslovakia '68, Paris '68 and to some extent Poland '81 and Burma '88 were periods of revolutionary change that were marked by egalitarian social and economic relationships. Even in revolutions which are the product of vanguard military struggles, the rhetoric used by many of these vanguard groups is the rhetoric of economic and social equality.

When any society goes through sudden revolutionary change, people form egalitarian cooperative organisations to ensure their survival. Egalitarian forms of organisation have sprung up in all major social revolutions during the century. In most social revolutions the state has been able to rally its forces and with the aid of forces from neighbouring states it has destroyed the workers and community councils and the previous status quo has been re-instated. In the remaining 20th Century social revolutions the power of the workers and community councils has been usurped by vanguard groups. These vanguard groups use the rhetoric and infrastructure of the workers and community councils to replace the power of the councils with their own power.

It's easy to understand how force can destroy a social revolution but it's less easy to understand why people who are controlling their own destiny would give power back to an elite. Apart from the Spanish revolution and to some extent the Russian and Mexican revolutions anarchists have had little, if any influence on social revolutions in the 20th Century. Even when people spontaneously form egalitarian societies they still seem to believe that hierarchy and leadership are necessary in order for their society to function. They believe in this rhetoric because before the period of revolutionary change all their experience has led them to believe that people need rulers for society to function.

An understanding of history and an understanding of our own society form the basis of any anarchist strategy. All societies even Australian society are wracked by internal contradictions because all states are based on economic and decision making inequalities. Today the main task facing Australian Anarchists organisations, groups and individuals is to show people how and why we are anarchists and how anarchism would benefit themselves and the community they live in. We must break out of our isolation by explaining to people that anarchism is not mindless random violence and we must stop using leftoid jargon that is written in code and decipherable only by other anarchists. We have to stay visible and we have to learn to work with all kinds of people.

As anarchists militants we must think hard about our tactics and actions as our tactics and actions will determine whether we as individuals will ever gain our personal freedom by living in a society that is based on economic and decision making equality. For many years the debate about strategy and action both intellectual and practical has been an integral component of the Libertarian workers activities. Our strategy today has evolved from our own personal and group experiences, our understanding of the past and our ability to analyse and understand the reality which faces us today. We make no apologies for the fact that our strategy has changed with time. As a group we believe this shows that we are able to break out of the historical straight jacket and advocate a strategy that takes into account the changes that have occurred in our society.

As a group we advocate that anarchists should form specific anarchist groups that are based on affinity, workplace, community or geographical realities. These groups have a number of different functions: they provide support and mutual aid for members and supporters of the group, they act as a focus for activities which challenge the status quo and which highlight anarchist ideas and actions, they encourage the formation of practical anarchist alternatives and they encourage the formation of other anarchist groups.

As a group the Libertarian Wor-

kers for a Self-Managed society no longer accept that we can create a dual power situation, through our effort and the efforts of other anarchist groups. We don't and have never accepted that armed struggle generates egalitarian social change. What we do accept is that the efforts of people who challenge the status quo combined with the inherent contradiction in our society leads people to constantly break through the illusions which surround them. Through their efforts they can challenge the very nature of Australian society.

In all societies periods occur when egalitarian social change is possible. Through their activities groups can generate periods when the role of the state and authority are questioned. They can acquaint people with anarchist modes of thought and organization and through their participation in day to day work and community life they can help people form their own anarchist groups and organisations.

Historically during periods of social revolution people have set up egalitarian organizations in order to survive the critical conditions they find themselves in. Whether these organisations continue to exist or whether they are grounded into the dust, depends on whether people are familiar with anarchist ideas and whether anarchist militants become involved in the creation and defence of these emerging community and workers councils. In such a situation the allegiance of an anarchist militant should not be to their group or organisation but it should be transferred to the emerging workers and community councils as these councils will form the basis of the emerging egalitarian society. Any anarchist group that is unwilling or unable to dissolve into the emerging workers and community councils will be part of the problem not part of the solution to that society's liberation. When the group becomes more important than the ideas that group represents then that group will become nothing more than just another vanguard party.

Anarchists — Yesterday's people, using yesterday's strategies to change yesterday's society was The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society contribution to the Anarchist Strategy Section of the Beyond Social Control Conference held in Sydney Australia, in June 1989.

The Anarchist As A Social Being

by Cath Williams

Introduction:

My view of human progress is that people will find it necessary to view the philosophy of anarchy as a social alternative, in order to make life's day to day mayhem worth coping with. The world can be a horrible place in which to exist. Daily, people are messed around by others and their own behaviour, in return, is often no more enlightened. In a universal sense our compassion is nullified by misdirection or greed.

The subject of this script is the "social being" and anarchist philosophy. Social anarchy is a term I use to describe people's potential relationship to their political and human relationships.

For me to develop a strong feeling of selfworth I have to start to understand myself in relation to 1) other individuals 2) other groups of people in society 3) society in the broad sense 4) the social relationships that exist between other individuals and groups.

From my earliest perception of peoplekind my memories are of people being unhappy or unsure of their position in this world. People continually feel guilt, sorrow or loneliness at times when the world appears to treat others with a peachy gloss. My catholic upbringing taught that this was god's way of testing us: naive or part of an intricate belief structure mechanism? This view of the world or of a god treating people equally was very quickly shattered. It became obvious, to me, that it is each individual that needs to consider him/herself equal in relation to others; in order to feel capable of dealing with the most simple tasks, let alone cope with the normal traumas of life:— insecurity, loss, survival, childbearing.

To help start with getting to grips with understanding ourselves I will describe what I call the "four beings" that make up a person and discuss some other ways of relating to the world from an anarchist point of view.

THE EMOTIONAL BEING:

Dreams don't always come true unlike the propaganda of "somewhere over the rainbow" would have us believe. Animals, including human animals are dependent at birth for their physical needs to be met by parents, companions or the state. The lower animal species are so-called because of their supposed inability to intellectually problem solve and adapt their situation; If we acknowledge the innate ability of peoplekind to be responsible for their own actions, how do we explain vast examples of people's inability to cope. Many never survive to mature to a stage where they can theoretically provide for their own physical needs, let alone their emotional ones.

We are taught by societies institutions ie: the church that dreams can come true but that we are probably unworthy. People write themselves off continuously with phrases like "I'm not good enough". These messages are carried over into new relationships. When a person is given affection from someone they respect, it is often accepted with the internal message "what does this person see in me"? When two people relate to each other with this usually **hidden** message it all too often results in traumatic hurting relationships, which carry on because people are too insecure to risk exposing themselves. The resulting confusion leaves us with feelings of resentment/guilt and so on.

If a person tries to change this situation and is unable to sort through the confusion with the other person, the situation will lead to each progressively feeling more threatened and angry as they perceive behaviour and messages altering. Their expectations of their relationship have been undermined; This usually happens slowly with a traumatic confrontation that destroys both people's trust in relationships and reinforces their negative selfimage; "we have failed".

This example does not exclude the fact that two or more people could

be creating the above situation or alternatively that when a person attempts change, that it may have the positive effect of forcing those involved into being honest with themselves and others and the relationship improving.

Nevertheless we must be concerned with the fact that our emotional development is hindered by the pressures of society that does not want us to be free and autonomous. Peoplekind have to make a conscious decision to change their initial perception of themselves and to be able to be able to say instead "I am important and I have unique things I can offer other people."

This emphasis on self-importance is part of a co-operative outlook, as opposed to the capitalist/individualist viewpoint that promotes competition and private ownership etc.

Anarchy does not deny that feelings exist or that they require expression in order to be dealt with effectively. It supports the concept that people are caring, that relationships can be more simple, respectful and can help us become stronger. We need to eliminate the superfluous feelings that are created by unfulfilled expectations; the imaginary dreams. We are not entitled to expect another person to be available to assist in achieving **our** dreams. Anarchism accepts that people have a responsibility to share their actions that will affect others, for our own self preservation people need to share how they feel.

The emotional being exists within all of us to deny it leaves us barren, to succumb to it at every turn causes us to have gross dependence on others for support. Ultimate independence provides a person with the ability to maintain her/his own personal direction. It allows people to emotionally co-exist. Co-existence reflects a mutual awareness of self and others. Individuals who are self aware are able to transmit clear messages that are supported by their actions. Relationships that develop and continue on this basis enable

trust to grow, a person can begin to take risks of self disclosure and define him/herself to another individual.

"Relationship" does not mean the romanticized ownership of one person to another; if constant reflection and change exists it will increase all peoples' freedom to exchange views, cohabitate peacefully and have an internal message that reflects a high self-esteem.

"THE MOTIVATED BEING":

My definition of a person who is "motivated" is one who is identified by her/his ability to distinguish and utilize aspects of the emotional being; in order to create. To create consistently and constructively we need to be free, self-directed and able to envisage self-growth and change. To maintain this growth, in order to direct it effectively towards achieving a self managed society a person must see his/her position as free from the limitations of state authority.

Creativity:

People go around trying to be brilliant and most of the time they aren't. It is obvious that individuals are inspired to be creative. If people produce "failures" they often give up and tell themselves that they are not able to be creative. When this negative message is reinforced by the inevitable comparison with a recognised achiever; creativity remains shy. It requires a lot of encouragement for a person to be able to enjoy the creative experience and to be pleased to accept the results objectively.

The motivation to be creative or active is intrinsically tied in with our emotional being "I am a person with feelings that I need to be able to express, I can use these in order to be creative." Whether those feelings be anger/joy/sadness they are the basis for initiating action.

The state theoretically, through the education system, encourages creativity. It provides art, music and recreational facilities which many young people ignore and take no advantage of. The "misdirection" of young people today

and the social problems that arise are recognised by concerned citizens as arising from a lack of discipline, drugs, etc. What citizens fail to acknowledge is that social problems occur in every level of the social stratum, the "evils" are various and numerous; mothers worry.

Anarchists' would view the situation as the state providing a hierarchical system based on the concepts of achievers versus non-achievers.

1) Creativity is strictly limited within the confines of a restricted view of art that is elitist and discriminatory towards any child that does not feel competent to draw a line or play a scale.

2) Subjects taught are not directed towards assisting a child to develop his/her ability to problem solve, they are simply a means for grading the ability to retain information. Their competence relies on their negative or positive self image.

As young people struggle through a system that categorizes them into levels of prescribed intelligence, related to types of employment or unemployment, they either react by dismissing the token gestures provided and attempt to define a unique identity. Frequently they assume the role of rank and file, and may view themselves as a failure. At the other extreme those with the ability to retain information and who are "fortunately" in environments that foster the application of this knowledge of sophisticated subjects towards a career in which they assume power positions.

This system is self-perpetuating. Each new generation has a defined set of expectations predetermined positions of importance. Individuals can improve their positions; this in no way alters the ongoing nature of this system which **allows** individual adjustments.

To be creative involves developing an awareness of self-direction. If this system no longer existed and children gained knowledge through experience and interaction; if knowledge was available freely and experimentation encouraged we could be a creative species. We could share our creativity without the restraints

that a competitive philosophy imposes.

In anarchist terms, a person is conceived uncorrupted ie: no internal message. A child has the ability to learn about his/her environment and is capable of adapting in order to survive, as she/he acquires a variety of skills.

We need to recognise the influences, controls and shortcomings of the system in which we currently grow and mature. Today's society lacks the input of people who have been able to develop their creative selves, define their self-direction and thereby contribute meaningfully; the adaptation forced on our environment is at present a destructive force.

Self-direction:

The concept of self-direction is theoretically encouraged by the system; as we grow we are allowed to assume a variety of adult roles. Young adults are expected to assume responsibility and show initiative, in order, to succeed within the hierarchical establishment. The socially minded idealist, with ambition to change the system is confronted with the inconsistency of implementing their values versus the action they take in order to live. We find that the avert symbols of rebellion are replaced with the attitude that "we can change the system from within". Our social ambitions adapt to an attitude of compliance:— couples opt for the security of bonded relationships; workers remain docile due to their reliance on a stable income. The psychology of the compliance factor is essential in the maintainance of the state system. People's emotional reactions are inhibited, we put up barriers to try and protect ourselves against abuse/manipulation and we suppress feelings of anger. Directed behaviour becomes less conspicuous as people lose their self-direction.

Never the less our emotional being continues to function, healthy or not. "Some kinds of directed behaviour are produced as a result of intense feelings... emotional states... are the basis for much if not all of our motivated behaviour." (Page 42; *"Becoming ourselves"* George Shouksmith; Longman Paul Ltd. 1979.)

The essence of self-direction is that it must be based on our emotional awareness. Our motivated behaviour includes keeping up a constant barrage of alternatives to the authoritarian system we live in and providing the basis for positive adaptation and evaluation within a community of free-exchange.

Freedom from Authority:

Authority is the "ability to compel compliance through the use of force... an anarchist may grant the necessity of complying with the law... but will never view the commands of the state as legitimate". (Page 18; *"In defence of anarchism"*; Wolfe R.P.; Harper and Row publishers; NY; 1970). We need to consider the outcome of attempting to be a self-directed individual aware of what motivates our behaviour in the face of worldwide authoritarian systems. The liberation of a persons concept of themselves needs to be supported by practical steps towards self-management. The difficulties of achieving this in a complex society that utilizes the forces of police/materialism/sexual bigotry/racism is often too great. The key to withstanding the corruption of complacency is to reflect on one's own behaviour; on political forces; how are we being affected by our environment; and what we expect on a day to day basis. In a time of high technology people are increasingly losing their knowledge of how their environment works; the mechanisms are considered too complicated to understand. We are not in control of the systems that affect our lives, we do not know where information comes from and to who's benefit.

To survive in a society of such diverse complex processes, in which we are being increasingly removed from the crux of power, we must face authority with the resolution that we have no moral duty to respect it. We need to be aware of the alternative means of survival; and use to our advantage, while trying to understand it, the technology of today and to communicate anarchist ideas to others.

THE RESPONSIBLE BEING:

Some of the criticisms of anarchist philosophy are that it is idealistic, unattainable and unacceptable to the majority of citizens who aspire to appreciate so called comfort and nonconflict. Firstly, as it appears that neither a "true state" of capitalism or communism exists, at present, we are living in an idealistic world; a world where systems are explained in idealistic terms while not conforming to the patterns described. Anarchy may be a far less unattainable alternative. The world is not ever going to be free of squalor or conflict until the goals of domination and control are removed and until governments cease to manipulate people into believing that peace is just around the corner. (With the threat of and the claimed ability to avoid, a nuclear holocaust). Governments have developed the ultimate symbol of power which ensures their position with the existence of a force that is potentially devastating; which is theirs to command.

Secondly, anarchy is not the landslide into chaos and degradation that we have been told to believe it to be. The concept of libertarian "revolution" is based on the premise that those with authority "will not relinquish its power without a struggle... The building of anarchism will require mass understanding and mass participation. Compared to the spontaneous and voluntary action of the majority of people, the state, the boss and their executives are pathetic." (*"As We See It"* Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society; 1988). People can have real and total freedom in which they can begin to establish workable communities. Change in a society of state oppression will not come about without organisation against a system in which a few in the upper echelons maintain control of the enforcers of "law and order". Anarchy does not equate to disorganisation/riots; it means that people can be responsible for decisions that affect themselves and others. To many this vision may equate to chaos, but from the anarchist perspective it is government which produces chaos and anarchy is order. The development

of our responsible being involves our ability to channel our creativity into the undoing of years of negative internal messages. We must demonstrate that we can live as anarchists, relating to other people without the need to resort to any form of force; in fact, live co-operatively. The retaking of our autonomy means no longer acting on motivations that are not of our own making. It means considering the consequences of our actions and how they will affect others. Today's society relies on people being manoeuvred into a state of pseudo-independence that relies on the handouts and controls of the state. We must therefore recognise the state for what it is. As with the law, we do not see the actions of the state as legitimate and we must be suspicious of its intent. Whether that is providing alternative accommodation for people in psychiatric hospitals or reaching arms agreements. If in order to survive we collect their handouts, be they wages or benefits, or if we pay rent to a landlord to ensure shelter we are not relinquishing our autonomy, we have not yet gained it.

The ability to be responsible relies on our emotional independence. The quality of our personal relationships relies on interactions that are honest and equal. Neither of these are achievable in a society that is inherently based on power relationships and dependence. Our emotional/sexual/friendship needs have all been discussed vigorously and to date we have a collection of muddled contradictory responses that address bits of problems. One of the failings of anarchism to date, is that it expects that people can automatically become responsible in their relationships because of an overall theory that addresses itself to egalitarian organisation of tasks and systems. Our actions will remain unproductive as long as we remain emotionally confused.

THE ACTIVE BEING:

It is the final aim of this article to establish some constructive means by which the anarchist can start to view her/himself as an active being, working towards a self managed society; a society in which there is no centralized bureaucracy, which is the tool for

leaders/monarchs/dictators; no capitalist system but rather a belief in equality, co-operative self-managed communities and individual autonomy.

Autonomy that is reflected in societies belief that the individual is capable of taking responsibility for her/his actions and is able to reflect on the consequences.

For action to be meaningful it must be based on concepts of egalitarian structures and equal decision-making.

1) The establishment of anarchist collectives, be they squats, food co-ops, schools have to go beyond like minded people, who interact socially, working or living together, they need to physically demonstrate to the wider community the potential of anarchist organisation.

2) Involvement in specific social issues requires a non-passive, critical analysis of the structures supporting these issues ie. nuclear ships ban in N.Z.; it is not the hard work of the ordinary person that is given acknowledgement, but a shrewd tactician whose motivations are dubious.

3) Participation in confronting the structures of systems such as health care and local government have to primarily remain an attack on the bureaucratic institutions not a confused assault on members and workers in those communities eg. the introduction of "normalisation" (intergration of institutionalised people into the community) without the support of those communities and the unreliable financial backing of a health care system which is being forced into privatisation.

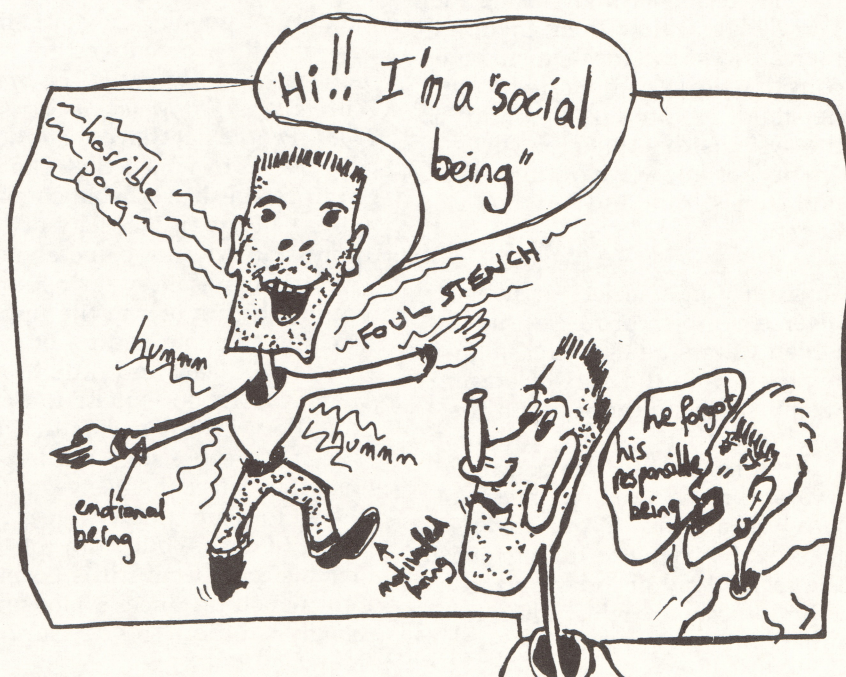
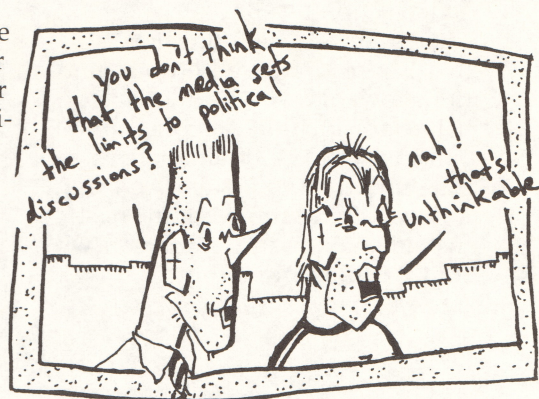
4) The development of information sharing (be it through mediums such as theatre/music/literature/radio etc.) out of the underground subcultures preaching to the converted. Information must be relevant to the receiver and their situation.

5) Organisation of essential tasks have to be planned for and implemented into the broader community ie: garbage disposal that incorporates recycling; no environmental damage; accessibility to all members of the community;

The active being is not an isolated individual. Within anarchist

groups today and on a larger scale during the Spanish revolution, for example, people demonstrate their ability to operate outside hierarchical structures.

The active being is able to accept the emotional being, learn from the motivated being, develop the responsible being and establish a variety of alternative actions that will assist societies change; for people to be effective social beings.



ANARCHY AND NURSING

By Steve Cockburn

One of the effects of the 1986 Victorian nurses' strike was a re-evaluation of the importance of nursing as an occupation both by the public and by nurses themselves. There arose much talk about the achievements of nursing, the diversity of its scope, the importance nurses can have for people going through life's crises and the appreciation so many of the public have of how nurses have helped them in the past. Whatever the limitations of the achievements of the strike in terms of pay and conditions, it undoubtedly had the effect of increasing the general esteem in which nursing is held; increasing nurses' awareness of their own potential, both in the workplace and as an organized body of workers; and of educating many hitherto relatively naive nurses about the political system, the industrial relations process, and about the callousness of the government both to nurses and to health care consumers.

The strike has been hailed as a victory because it achieved significant gains during a time of overall government repression of industrial activity. But the demands of the nurses were quite modest, and the strike achieved no major restructuring of the health care system. So it is appropriate for nurses in 1987 to ask: Where do we go from here? Terrible problems in hospitals and other health care settings still exist. Modern nursing ideals such as advocacy of patients' rights and emergence from a subordinate, patriarchally-defined role remain to be widely realized. Much has to be done, by nurses as nurses, and by nurses as health workers acting in co-operation with other health workers.

Before attempting to answer the question: Where do we go from here? It would be useful to ask: Where do we come from? and how did we get where we are? The first thought that these questions stimulate is that we come from a very authoritarian tradition indeed. Most nurses have been young women, and the job has been dominated by more prestigious, better paid occupations —

not only medicine, but the likes of physiotherapy and occupational therapy as well. Nursing has passed through long years where the education process and the organisation of the job itself was very disciplinarian and involved much humiliation and the infliction of misery by nurses on nurses.

Modern nursing has been influenced heavily by a number of institutions of a highly hierarchical nature. There was the army, from which Florence Nightingale picked up many of her ideas about organising a work force, and from which we inherited uniforms, discipline, regimentation, lockstep training and ranks. The convent was one of the earliest European institutions where nursing took place. Nurses are still unofficially called 'sisters', and it was not long ago that they wore veils. Another institution that affected the development of nursing was the asylum, or maximum security institution. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, amidst the resulting poverty and unemployment, governments found it convenient to confine the insane, the syphilitic, lepers and law-breakers in high security buildings of which the jail is the purest remaining form, but of which the hospital is also a direct descendant. (Foucault, M. 1965). Nursing literature has always claimed that what sick people needed was fresh air, good food, a clean environment, variety of environmental stimulus, rest, and the ability to look out of the window and enjoy good company (Nightingale, F. reprinted 1980). Anyone who has been a patient or a worker in an average public hospital would wonder that its designer and management were aware that patients had such needs. But for the burden of its particular history, nursing might have developed into more of a community helping service, or might have put more emphasis on the creation of pleasant, therapeutic environments.

Some student nurses in Australia still wear uniforms that plainly owe their origin to those of nineteenth century domestic ser-

vants. Nannies and nursemaids, working-class 'girls in service', who were expected to 'know their place' are among our ancestors.

Given this heritage of being part of authoritarian systems, and of being victims of sexist denigration, and also taking into account the baggage we have picked up in recent times — bureaucracy, both national and entrepreneurial health structures and state attempts to use medicine as a way of controlling people's lives — is it possible to speak of Anarchism and nursing in the same breath? Is Anarchism, perhaps, just a pipe-dream, an escape from the realities of the work-place, which is nice to contemplate at the end of the day? The position taken here is that Anarchism is more than a dream of how life could be. It is a set of values we can choose to live our lives by in our culture as it is now — values such as anti-authoritarian, egalitarianism and determination to resist performing any action that goes against our conscience. The Anarchist nurse can practise, but refuse to become hardened into being an obedient cog in the wheel. In the experience of this writer, a nurse who is seen as not being authoritarian tends to get on better with her/his peers than otherwise, and the nurse who sticks her neck out and takes a stand on an issue eventually wins respect.

The last three years have seen nurses organising and energetically behaving in what, given their background, is militant activity. This may not seem very militant in a couple of years, but undoubtedly a breakthrough in consciousness, attitude and action has occurred. During the nurses' strike the point was repeatedly made that it was not just about money. Many ideals have arisen in nursing through since the sixties and nurses have become increasingly frustrated at being unable to live up to those ideals. These include holistic nursing care, advocacy of patients' rights, increased decision-making power for nurses and the conviction that health workers ought to accept responsibility for

major environmental and political threats to public health, such as uranium mining. There has also arisen a gut reaction against demeaning, disciplinarian attitudes in nursing and healthy anger at the assumption that women should be paid less than people in male-dominated jobs of comparable complexity. Feminist ideals are now well entrenched into nursing culture. The observation is made here that ideals creep into nursing thought slowly. Somebody writes an article in a journal, a debate grows over a number of years, an experiment is tried somewhere, the pros and cons of an innovation are debated, and eventually a movement is born, such as, say the Community Health Nursing Movement. When nurses get together and demand reform they do so with the arsenal of ideas they have at their disposal at the time. But the range of ideas nurses are thinking about is growing fast, and this writer believes it is worthwhile to put Anarchist issues on to the agenda, which is the purpose of this paper. In the writer's experience, the Anarchist nurse is not dismissed as a ratbag or a threat. Nurses are disaffected, and at the moment are receptive to dissident views. But Anarchism is not going to grow into a mass movement overnight. The reason for this is not because conservative resistance is as big a problem as one might think, but because nurses are at present being bombarded with so many points of view that seem radical to them that it will take some time before these are all sifted through and evaluated.

There has been a lot of bold debate in nursing in the past few years and there is a lot more to come. Anarchists have to take part in that debate, and explain the difference between their stance and other options which seem to lead to light at the end of a long tunnel.

In order to introduce Anarchist ideas into nursing debates we need to look at a number of assumptions that exist in progressive nursing thought at the moment, and see how those assumptions arose, because many, but not all, Anarchist assumptions are quite different.

There has been much literature since the seventies that has attempted to account for how nursing came to occupy a subordinate role in the modern health care system.

Centuries before the birth of Florence Nightingdale there was a tradition in Europe of female healers who were experts in herbal lore and midwifery and had more advanced empirical knowledge than contemporary male doctors. (Ehrenreich, B., and English. D. 1973). They were independent practitioners. We are looking at the other side of the coin to that of the authoritarian heritage of nursing discussed earlier. These healers came to be persecuted by the State as witches and many were put to death. There may, as well, have been cults of devil-worshipping sorceresses, but the anti-witch laws defined a witch as any woman who healed or attempted to heal anyone. She could be a Christian, her methods could be safe and effective, but the laws were designed to abolish female competition against male doctors. However, midwifery managed to survive as an independent profession, as did isolated 'wise women'. In the nineteenth century the male dominated medical profession sought to monopolise all healing and curing activity, and this process has continued up until recently. It has meant the illegalisation of many alternative healing techniques. Healing professions that wanted to survive either had to do legal battle with doctors — e.g. naturopaths and homeopaths, to focus on strict territorial specialization — e.g. optometrists, or to make considerable compromises.

Nurses, to survive, and to be able to work with adequate economic and material resources, were obliged to accept a subordinate role as ordertakers in a medical-dominated hierarchy. There were a lot of sexual politics involved here. Doctors thought it fitting that women should work as their obedient handmaidens, that caring was women's work. Nurses, in a patriarchal society, saw this role as an alternative to household or factory drudgery, an opportunity to do challenging, useful work, to subtly and patiently build up a

power base from which they would otherwise be excluded altogether, to prove their worth by their actions and to bide their time until their work was appreciated.

Midwifery remained independent much longer than the rest of nursing and has an interesting history in Australia particularly. Early white Australia had few midwives, especially in the country, and yet babies were delivered, where did the women who delivered them obtain their skills? It seems the knowledge came largely from Aboriginal women who were employed themselves or whose husbands were employed on farms and stations. (Wills, E. 1983). So here is a contribution from Aboriginal culture to our own that is not widely recognised and an interesting chapter in Australian women's history. Midwifery in Australia continued to grow until in the 1910's and '20's it was seen as a threat to obstetricians. Moves were made to outlaw it and pressure was put on the Billy Hughes government to do so. The government was reluctant and a struggle ensued, the outcome of which was that midwives were given official recognition on the condition that they worked under the control not only of doctors, but as subordinates to other nurses as well. To add insult to injury, the Cain government attempted to sell midwives a position on the career structure equal to that of first year registered nurses. (Willis, B. 1983).

Acceptance of subordination did have the effect of giving nurses security and the chance to be in on the action of the spectacular medical advances of the twentieth century. But it was always a compromise.

With this background in mind, a number of nursing writers, since the sixties, have attempted to enhance the status of nursing. They define it as a profession in its own right, with a separate body of knowledge to that of medicine — the emphasis being more on 'caring' than 'curing' — with its own research base, and with growing autonomy. (Chinn, P.L. and Jacobs, M.K. 1983). This school of thought began in America but has had a profound influence in Australia since the mid '70's. Nursing education is moving from hospital schools of nursing into colleges,

and it is thought that nursing ought to adopt increasingly the traits of such professions as law, medicine and teaching.

Anarchist nurses have problems with this concept of professionalisation. It is understandable that, in light of the subordination nursing has put up with for so long, that a predominantly female group should want more respect, and it is reasonable to try to develop an academic infrastructure that will enable them to keep up with, and contribute to, rapid advances in health care knowledge. But Anarchists believe that the only real answer to the subordination of certain groups of health care workers by others is an uncompromising opposition to the hierarchical organisation of the health care system. This implies firstly, that nurses attempt to abolish their own pecking order, and secondly that they attempt to break down the barriers between nurses and other groups of health care workers.

The first point will be discussed first. Nurses are not only order-takers, they are order-givers. Much of the work done in hospitals and nursing homes is by State Enrolled Nurses (S.E.N.'s), who are nurses with one year's education, and are subordinate to Registered Nurses (R.N.'s) who have a minimum of three year's education. It is only possible to learn so much in either one year, or three. Much is learned from experience. In the event of an S.E.N. with ten years' experience working an R.N. with eight months' experience, it is arguable that the S.E.N. is making as important a contribution to the running of the ward as the R.N. Just as the help and advice that experienced nurses give to inexperienced medical residents is not officially recognised, but is indispensable to safe practice, we must admit that the same phenomenon occurs in our own ranks. The nursing strike has looked scantily at the problems of S.E.N.'s who often do the hardest work on the ward and other supports to patients and R.N.'s.

We have seen that nursing has inherited a military type of organisation, with uniforms, titles and ranks. This is widely seen as out-of-date. The alternatives proposed have been various versions of the nursing career structure with rising grades and increments in pay.

A military-type hierarchy is being replaced by a public-service-type hierarchy. Early versions of the career structure angered many nurses because they insulted and downgraded a number of specialised skill areas. The version that was agreed to avoid most of those anomalies but departs very much from the original idea, which was to allow nurses to be promoted while staying by the bed-side rather than going into education or teaching. Administrators come out with the lion's share of nursing pay increases. The director of nursing of a hospital of over 701 beds is eligible for \$987.20 per week, due to increase. This is ridiculous. Nobody needs that sort of money. Anarchists are opposed to a set-up where there is pressure on people to get promoted up a ladder in competition with their fellows. At least in the past there was a fair degree of egalitarianism and solidarity among most nurses. Without it the strike would not have had the strength it had. Now we must fear the emergence of all the types of behaviour that go hand in hand with careers involving promotion: back-stabbing, sycophancy, cronyism and, in the case of nursing in particular, discrimination against couples who want to share work and child-caring.

There must be a better alternative to the military model. We think a system in which major decisions were made by workplace meetings in which all had an equal voice could be made quite workable even under contemporary conditions. Certainly inexperienced people could not be expected to say very much at first, and some would be listened to with particular respect. But the involvement of everybody in the control of their work ought to lead to more creative solutions to problems, to militate against apathy and burn out, and ought to encourage among nurses a thoughtful and critical, rather than a task-oriented approach which is, after all, what modern nursing education pays lip service to. It might be asked: Who would take the rap when anything went wrong? A system could be devised whereby one member of the team could be elected to a position of responsibility on a temporary basis. One condition would be that the team stand behind this person in difficult situations, and another would be that this person

could be promptly replaced if seen to be abusing her/his position. Ideally, all qualified people would gain experience in such a position.

Bringing such a state of affairs about seems to present overwhelming problems. Various health-worker industrial unions have traditions of such unreasonable rivalry (or, at least, their leaders do) that the initiative must take place outside the trade-union frame-work. An important first step is for nurses to make it clear that they regard their traditional role as authority figures as old-hat. Fortunately the Australian culture makes it possible for people in jobs of different status to socialise in a relaxed manner and even marry. An egalitarian system would be more compatible with the psychologies of most of us than the caste-like set-up we have inherited of 'yellow ladies', 'pink ladies', 'the boys' (orderlies), 'the girls' (nurses), 'the kids' (students) and all the rest.

Nurses may be suspicious that it would be worth the effort to try to forge similar bonds with higher paid occupational groups than their own. Such groups may be seen as status and salary conscious elites — unlikely converts to Anarchism. So let us take the first step and stop being status and salary conscious ourselves. Other professional groups are changing their attitudes, just as nurses are. There exists today tremendous disaffection among many junior doctors against the conservatism of A.M.A. ideology. There was much thoughtful sincere and active support for the nurses' strike by doctors. Moreover we can no longer think of the relationship between doctors and nurses as one of a male profession dominating a female one, as so many medical graduates are now women and so many nurses men. A new era is about to be born, without a little expert midwifery a still-birth might be the result.

In a hospital or nursing home the patient is at the very bottom of the hierarchy. At least the toilet cleaner can go home at the end of the shift make some decisions for herself and lock up the toilet paper. Nursing students today are taught to plan patient care with the patient, and to maximise patients' control over their lives. We have diagnosed the problem of patient powerlessness, and remedies have

been prescribed. They remain to be administered.

So... where do we go from here? Anarchist nurses cannot expect to make much progress unless they communicate their ideas in speech and writing. A certain amount of courage may be required, but this is necessary if any worthwhile social change is to be made. We are living in a climate of relatively little intolerance to nurses with 'radical' ideas. The high profile the International Socialists were able to adopt during the strike is evidence of that. But there is general ignorance at what 'Anarchy' really means, and we have ourselves to blame if we continue to be misunderstood. There is a boom in nursing literature. Why should some of it not be Anarchist literature?

Many will be skeptical of the feasibility of putting Anarchist principles into practice in a contemporary health care setting. The position taken here is that there ought to be no objection to such an experiment providing its participants were competent at their jobs and committed to quality. Anarchism is about maximising worker control of the work-place, and achieving the most creative contribution possible from each member of the team. This cannot be against anyone's real interests, least of all patients. Anarchist nurses, trying to put their ideals into practice would be trying to prove the worth of those ideals to observers, so high performances could be expected. There are some wards, nursing homes and hostels that are in such a shambles that almost any energetic suggestions by hard-working staff-members would be tolerated, if they were based on an intelligent analysis of the problems and seemed like feasible solutions.

A difficult problem is the Anarchist principle that people should enjoy economic equality or, at least, be paid according to their needs, rather than on the basis of other considerations. After a long, hard, industrial struggle not many nurses could be expected to throw away the economic gains they have won. This, for one thing, would fly in the face of the Feminist sentiment that nurses have been taken advantage of for so long because they are a female dominated work-force, and that

past injustices should be overturned. For another thing, nurses who have done post-graduate courses, often without pay, expect recognition for their extra knowledge in their pay packets. The question of economic equality can only be discussed when other advantages of Anarchism have been understood and there exists a reasonable amount of interest in it, and when the limitations of pinning of all our hopes for a better system on unionism have been analysed.

It has been suggested that two practical steps forward that Anarchist nurses can take are to speak and write about Anarchism a great deal and to seek opportunities to run health care environments along Anarchist lines. Thirdly, we ought to live up to our ideals. We should be neither submissive nor domineering to other workers, and should help and encourage patients to live as freely as possible. Student nurses and junior R.N.'s tend to be influenced by people as they see as role models. The authoritarian type of role model is becoming unfashionable, but has not widely been replaced by the type of person who can be anti-authoritarian in a strong and assertive way.

And what of nursing administration? The Anarchist approach is that people who need to take responsible administrative positions should be elected and subject to instant recall should they cease to be responsive to the decision of the work-place committees they represent. Power moves from below up, not from above down. Almost every ward nurse will say that her/his administrator does not know what her/his problems are and that the staff at the lower echelons are left to battle with these problems unaided by the powers that be. Let us replace the powers that be with representatives of people who do know what the problems of the workplace are, and who know which solutions are feasible and which are not, people, moreover, who are not interested in status, power and money, but in bettering the conditions of their work-mates and their patients.

The Anarchist ideal of breaking down barriers between different kinds of health care workers, including cleaning staff, kitchen staff and orderlies may be difficult for

many nurses to accept. But if we think about, say, the importance of appropriate nutrition for convalescence we must admit that cooks play a potentially important role. And if we think about it we are forced to admit the importance of cleaning and laundry staff. And so on. Why should ward meetings not include such people? The process would certainly be educationally for all involved, and would unleash a lot of creativity that is at present suppressed.

Let us take advantage of the current climate in which new and even revolutionary ideas are listened to attentively by nurses to bring our concerns to attention. But it is necessary to be patient. There are people who have been working for decades to bring progressive innovations into nursing thought and practice. They have met with limited success, but only after long and relentless battles.

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Obituary

Steve Cockburn a member of the Libertarian Workers for a Self Managed Society died suddenly in late 1988. Steve had been an Anarchist since the early 1970's and during his lifetime Steve made a valuable contribution to Anarchist ideas and activities in Melbourne. He was well known among the Melbourne Anarchist community and his sudden death came as a shock to his family and friends. Steve was a foundation member of The Australian and New Zealand Anarchist Health Care Association and the Melbourne branch of The Anarchist Black Cross. He is missed by all who knew him and sometime in the near future we hope to publish a book of his articles and graphics so that other people may be able to share his ideas and experiences.

Peace is Impossible in a Hierarchical Society

Delegate of Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society Stephen Roper

Implicit in this statement is the proposition that the only way to achieve peace at all levels, global, national, local and domestic, is for a fundamental change to occur in the way society is organised and the decision making and resources of that society are shared.

To this effect we argue that only in a society based on equal decision making power and equal distribution of wealth is a harmonious and hence peaceful society possible.

We do not see the threat of war primarily in the confrontations of the obscenely armed super states, or the threat of an uncontrolled slide into the abyss of nuclear winter, but see war, war preparations even the nuclear nightmare as part of a more universal social paradigm of maintenance of the world's resources and control in the hands of a limited proportion of the population.

War, war preparation, often described as defence or self defence, or even "peace keeping", is integral to the maintenance of the hierarchical state, both as a means of maintaining sovereignty against other hierarchical states and the inverse overpowering or extending influence on other states, and as a means of controlling the less enfranchised members of "lower classes" those with least control over resources and often the source of wealth of the elite.

War and war preparation are also, when efficiently managed, extremely profitable, so profitable in fact the world economy is held by the king pin of war spending.

The modern state is built on a symbiotic relationship with war. World economies exist on the perpetuation of the threats of war.

Arms, munitions, technology, manufacture and research into war is the world's largest industry, albeit an industry based on death and destruction.

War fits in perfectly with capitalism, both traditional, state capitalism and the many mixed forms of

capitalism that proliferate the world.

War and war produce exists in an artificially promoted market in which planned obsolescence is at its most refined and in which the market is emotionally entrapped such that the products are seen as essential at almost any price. Credit is readily available often from sources who produce the product and the market.

On a human level, figures indicate that war industry, including research and development is the single largest employer of all areas of human endeavour.

Weapons and war research is the biggest single source of education funding at tertiary level in the developed world.

One male person in 9 is involved in war industry as a researcher, manufacturer or armed person in the armies, militias, or police forces in the world.

The majority of states in the world have some form of compulsory military training or forced service, the exceptions are few. These exceptions are often only due to complex social and economic rationale which dictates technology and expertise is a more efficient and economic tool. Military training is a very effective means of breaking individual spirit and enculturing the ethics of obedience and acceptance of hierarchy.

This primary of war spending and industry in the modern state (ranging from 5-9% of G.N.P.) is so important that periods of conflicts and their spending can have dramatic effects on the economic well being of the individual state.

The post WWII period of increased prosperity is directly linked to the massive growth of the war industry.

This industry is funded by "funny money", credit on paper assets and excessive of exploitation of developing regions and destruction of human resources and unrenewable physical resources.

One of the many perverse arguments is that this spending employs people, gives them a "living" in a world unable to allow self sufficient subsistence.

It is interesting to speculate what the expenditure of energy and resources could do if harnessed to productively change the world to a better balanced environment both socially and physically.

A real reduction of the gross exploitive and destructive consumption that truly threatens the ecological existence of our world planet, is real as nuclear winter, could occur.

Adequate distribution of resources needed to allow people to feed, house and educate themselves, such that individuals could then feel safe and confident about their futures, would remove the major imperative of massive population growth.

The perverse argument alluded to assumes only a view of exploitive capital advancement and makes no allowance for the immediacy of the need for change.

But the perversity of the whole situation is not that no change is envisaged or even looked for, but that change is actively opposed.

The existing status quo including war and war preparation is integral to the maintenance of an elite who control the profits of the world military technology industry and those who are intimately tied to maintaining this culture and their position in the hierarchy, such as politicians, bureaucrats, bankers, financiers, scientists, military officers, capital investors, party bosses, strategic planners, and managers. Below them, but bonded to them, an other strata of "people managers", public and civil servants, technologists, media, religion (often interchangeable as moral dictators), police, armed forces, judicial workers, union bosses and academics and professional elites are all tied implicitly to the destructive system.

To challenge this system would be to threaten their own immediate security and comfort and to step outside the moral guidelines the system is built on and they readily accept.

In turn this security through position, power or influence, is passed down albeit greatly diminished, to the greater groups of people who actually produce and support the system. This hierarchical structure is based on the popular acceptance of the status quo and the authority assumed often by force or corression, by the upper stratas.

This authority is based on several myths and largely unchallenged values. The first is leadership by a decreasing elite is natural. That is, that some are born or educated or blessed the the god(s), nominated by "the Party" or called to lead naturally and that, often established position within the hierarchy predetermines leadership potential.

The second myth is that efficient, secure functioning of the system is best managed by a small professional executive. The inverse is that popular democratic input and direct decision making is inefficient and open to manipulation and abuse and often unweildy. The idea that the state system functions more fluidly and effectively with less peril by reducing the amount of popular input or accountability in decision making and that efficient decision making must be handed to "natural leaders" as the most representative of "popular needs and stability" is where an important tie in with war becomes apparent.

Many people instinctively and rationally reject these myths and the desire to have some direct control and involvement in decisions affecting their lives is very strong, as such the state needs to destabilise people's natural and rational resistance to hierarchy.

This destabilisation is achieved by instilling a sense of insecurity about their lives.

The higher the level of fear or insecurity in a society, the more readily will it accept rule by hierarchical elites; the more readily will it accept the loss of its personal and civil liberties; will it ac-

cept the excesses of the ruling elite whose actions are said to be for "the general good" and who, as "natural leaders", have the "most to lose anyway". (It is a diversion to consider if the politician or banker would ever go to war directly, or which groups have places in the atomic bomb shelters established in many countries!!).

External threats, other nations, other states, other tribes, other religious dogmas, other races, other super power blocs are painted as threats. Actual frontier wars are great sources of fear especially when carefully handled by media and are used to justify massive mistruths, exaggeration of propaganda and most importantly, delegation upwards of authority and the suppression of individual and civil liberties. The first victim of war is said to be truth.

The threat can be presented to even the lowest least enfranchised group by showing a group even more poorer of culturally different and playing on the fear that they will rise and grab their meagre resources, or threaten their life.

Racism is based on a supposed hierarchy and has been used subtly and overtly as a means of maintaining and extending control.

The threat however does not need to be external. Generalised fear of internal upheaval by those oppressed at the bottom, threats to those clinging to the middle of the social hierarchy is a very strong fear, often those lower groups themselves and has often been a psychological lever to allow delegation of power upwards and excesses to continue.

Examples abound of right wing, fascist governments and military seizing power to overcome the implied threat of the masses, unions, socialists, racial minorities, social democrats, etc.

This is a somewhat simplistic scenario it would seem, but if you look at the world we live in even the "comfortable", sophisticated first world and second worlds, but the fear is still there, both direct and subtle.

We live within power blocks with the potential to annihilate the world many times over, a world in which no one can claim neutrality

because we will all be effected and no one can leave!

We are bluffed and mislead into believing our nation, state of geographical existence, or birth, is sovereign and that for our survival physically and economically, we must tie in with one of the power blocs who are constantly rushing to demonstrate how serious they are, and sometimes directly involving us. A culture of fear has been generated over many years, adjusted, magnified, converted often with many of its historical roots forgotten. These fears have come part of a deliberately generated folk lore. That in many respects, there is very little difference between the super powers does not become obvious as myths generated over many years colour our perception especially if the sources of our knowledge is only through the media, or state propaganda.

But more subtle influences are at work generating our fears. We see the inequality of the world starving masses, famine and massively increasing populations and we are quietly told this is what will happen to us if we "don't pull the finger out", "work harder", "maintain our vigilance", "increase or defend our capability".

We hear of cold wars or the necessity of covert state violence, of the need to protect investment and people against terrorism. The use of the word 'terrorism' or 'terrorist' is very pointed as the image of terror is more needed by the state as a means of gaining control or justifying increased powers, than the implications of the use of terror as a political tool.

We are told that we can't possibly know the full story even though an 'enemy' would probably be as aware of it as our bosses. Security for security's sake.

We are bombarded by fear invoking media, both real and fantasy, the privatisation of our lives breakdown community and puts our consensus in the hands of the media, the T.V., the opinion makers.

Ever notice how much more scary the world is after you have watched too much T.V. or movies?

We are told about increasingly 'mindless' violence on our streets and the solution continuously comes back to increased power for the state by way of abrogation of rights-to protect us!!

Democratic decision making, the type that cannot be perverted, is marked by the state or empowered hierarchy, as threatening and usually accused of being influenced or guided from the 'outside' or by the enemies of the state, and more often than not crushed.

Even the world 'peace movement', the grass level reaction to fear rational people have to world holocaust, is painted by both sides of super power blocs as being tools of the others secret army, established to mislead, corrupt and emasculate the defences of the society, and in some cases, may well be, knowing the way the 'secret war' of intelligence (a bizzare word when connected with the state and the military) services is being carried out. The new war is said to be "hearts and minds."

Those elements of the peace movement which cannot be co-opted by the system which see the contradictions of the state and demand basic structural changes are often harshly suppressed, or in more sophisticated states, marginalised such that the majority of their energies are directed solely into survival or justifying their existence, let alone promoting their cause.

This has been, and still is, the case with the anarchist movement in general.

All contemporary states are hierarchical whether capitalist, communist, state capitalist or social democratic. The changes promised by the ascendancy of social democrat, marxist and old and new right governments, all claiming to provide for the human needs of people, have remained rigidly hierarchical and have not led to any real freedom.

Capitalism, whether controlled by the state, corporation or the individual remains an inhuman type of society where the vast majority are bossed at work and home, and manipulated in consumption, leisure and security.

Media, the legal system, police, and schools impose values and morality which all serve to reinforce the power of the few and convince and coerce the many into acceptance of a brutal, degrading

and irrational system.

Neither capitalism or communism have delivered what they promised the peoples of the world.

The communist world is not communist and the free world is not free. In this environment peace is impossible.

Having now defined the problem, what is an anarchist strategy to deal with it?

Strategy for change

Peace will only occur when we all live in an anarchist society-a voluntary non-hierarchical society based on the creation of political and social structures which are formed on the basis of equal decision-making power and which allow all people equal access to that society's wealth.

Today most anarchists still live in the past, they continue to act as if the world has stood still since the Spanish revolution. Their actions reflect an inability to come to grips with present day reality.

Strategies based on the creation of monolithic anarchist organisations or the creation of dual power structures are no longer relevant either in the West, the East or the Third World. Strategies based on individual personal change which have been embraced by Western anarchists have not brought about any major change in Western society. Today anarchist militants are faced with the dilemma of how to break out of their isolation.

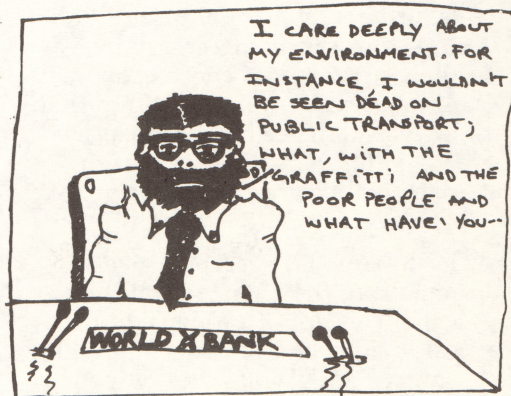
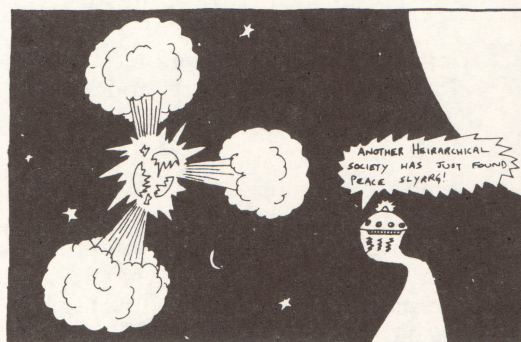
Since the Spanish revolution many societies which have not had a significant Anarchist presence have briefly formed societies that reflect anarchist ideas and anarchist modes of organisation. Hungary '56, Czechoslovakia '68, France '68, Poland '81 and Burma '88 are a few examples. In times of crisis people naturally form organisations which are based on equality and co-operation.

As anarchists, we should be forming organisations in the places we live and work. These organisations will reflect the interests of the people within them. These groups primary role is to make anarchism a reality to the people around them through propaganda and

practical work. In times of crisis (and all societies are faced with recurrent crises) anarchist groups can act as a source of inspiration as well as a source of knowledge about how the workers and community councils which have sprung up can be co-opted and destroyed by the state. Armed repression, elections, reforms, wage rises, and authoritarian take overs, are some of the reasons these embryonic anarchist societies have perished. A significant decentralized anarchist community could have a profound influence on the growth and survival of these embryonic anti-authoritarian societies.

An anarchist presence in a time of crisis could tip the scales toward the creation of a society based on peace-an anarchist society.

This paper was presented at the Anarchy and Peace seminar by Stephen Roper a delegate of the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society. This Seminar was hosted in Soeul, Korea in 1988 by the Federation of Anarchists in Korea (F.A.K.).



Property and Anarchism

by Leigh Riley

"Property" is a restriction on use, enforceable by law. A property owner has the privilege of selling the right to use, either exclusively or in part, specific objects to another person or property-holder. Use of property not sanctioned by sale (or rent, which is a sort of time-restricted partial sale) is regarded as theft, and is punishable by law. Property relations apply to objects, to resources, to the means of producing objects, to labor, and to ideas (protected by law through patent or copyright). Capitalist property relations apply exclusively to that which can be alienated, or sold.

The capitalist definition of property is a recent development, dating only from the C18th. The spread of capitalism follows from the spread of the capitalist property law. Historically, this has been achieved by application of force, through imperialism and colonialism. No region of the world has accepted capitalism without the prior application of force. Capitalism arrived in Australia with the imposition of English land law onto Australian land, enforced by English courts and armed forces.

Prior to the C18th property rights emphasised shared access to resources, not to the exclusive rights to alienate them through the market-place. European feudal economies gave "ownership" of resources, particularly the land and its products, to a privileged class of military aristocrats. They shared their access to resources and products with the resident labor force, who could claim the use of resources necessary for their subsistence. These economies emphasised use-rights, rather than exclusive sale-rights, and allocated use-rights according to the fundamental balance of power in those societies.

Historians have recently given attention to the change from the use value concept of property to the sale-value concept. Two interesting sources are "Whigs and Hunters", by E.P. Thompson, which specifically deals with the change in property law as it affected English

forest dwellers; and "Albion's Fatal Tree", which applies the same perspective to other marginal economies in the C18th English countryside. The ferocious property laws enforced in England during the C18th, and which gave Australia its' first white population of convicts and guards, dates precisely to this time of change in the property law.

Marx confronted the historical revolution in the meaning of the property law by declaring it to be an inevitable and necessary consequence of the increase in productivity that would inevitably be achieved when this type of law was established. This question is still problematic in Marxism, by calling into doubt the validity of the so-called "base-superstructure" model.

Use-value concepts of property have long historical roots and are almost universal among non-western societies. At one extreme these relations distinguish personal property from communal property, such as land, natural resources, or labor. At other extremes elaborate scales regulate the shares of product allocated to interested parties and allow complex class and bureaucratic social structures to be constructed. Use-value definitions of property are actively political, as they require negotiations between the parties each time shares are distributed.

In Australia property law follows from the land law and the labour law, both of which were imported directly from England. The land law declared all land to be the property of the British crown, and then sold it to interested capitalists. This restricted the use of the land to certain privileged Europeans, and excluded the aboriginal population and unprivileged Europeans. A compatibility of interest connects these two groups today. Present issues concerning Land Rights have been characterised by Nick Greiner as establishing two classes or land ownership in Australia, which he claims undermines the value of freehold. The 'Land Rights' movement is presently interpreting its

claim to land as a trust, as a function of the land's use-value, or ability to support a population. However, tenure will be guaranteed by political rather than legal means.

Anarchists argue that the product of communal activity should be shared according to need. Use-values define the inputs and outputs of this system. Anarchism therefore requires the abolition of the present system of property law based on exclusive rights and sale in the market place. There are many interest groups which could more effectively pursue their social goals in a property system politicized through shared access to use-values, rather than the capitalist system of restricted access.



Australian Anarchist Bibliography

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Please find enclosed a list of English-Language writings on anarchism, syndicalism, the I.W.W. and Libertarianism in Australia, and New Zealand, which however does **not** include articles of less than 4 pages, book-sections less than 10 pages in length, or pamphlets.

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History of the Korean Anarchist Movement Part 2

by Y.C. Choe

The Movement in Japan until 1945

The Japanese situation in the 1910's was quite different from China. They had actively introduced European culture and accomplished modernisation through two wars, one with China and one with Russia. For about half-a-century they placed themselves in the ranks of the capitalist powers. This economic change shaped a new industrial working class in their society. As industrial development accelerated the volume of this class expanded rapidly. As a result, the spread of socialism could not be prevented. Indeed, socialism was in great vogue, especially among the intellectual *avante-garde* of the time.

Naturally, many of the Korean students abroad in Japan at the time could not help coming into contact with Japanese socialism and were much influenced, especially by anarchism. The Korean Anarchist movement in Japan was initiated by these students. Through this development their movement concentrated on the struggle for class liberation. They saw this as the likeliest way to achieve national independence. In contrast, in China the emphasis was on building a strong, unified joint front prepared for a direct fight.

We have already touched on Park Yeols' High Treason case in Part 1; here we wish only to concentrate on the crimes committed by Japanese Imperialism.

It was in 1919, after the nationwide uprising of the 1st of March when Park went to Japan to study. At first he organised a work-study group with other Korean students in Tokyo. Most of the Korean students were facing difficulties. Having close contact with the Japanese anarchists, Osugi-Sakae and others, they decided to start the anarchist movement and organised the "Black Labourers Society". They produced the organ "Korean Revolt".

Entering into the 20th Century, Japanese Imperialism launched colonial invasions and the Asian countries were the first target. From then, a ruthless oppression of socialists began. For instance, Kotoku-Shuzui, the leading Japanese anarchist, was executed in 1910. He was charged with opposing the war with Russia and the colonial invasions in an article he wrote for the new anarchist paper "Heimin Shinbun". In 1923, Osugi-Sakae, one of the most active of the anarchists, along with his wife, were killed without legitimate trial by military police.

The reasons why the Japanese Imperialists drove themselves to such ruthless and evil actions were as follows. Firstly, due to the hysterical fear brought about by the Russian Revolution of 1917, secondly, the broadening of rice-riots in 1918 and, thirdly, the world-wide panic after the World War followed by the rising of the Korean people in 1919. Also they may have feared the result of the explosion of the labourers movement with ultra-leftist power.

In 1923, a tragic earthquake struck Tokyo, destroying the whole city and leaving countless people dead. In the wake of this the Japanese authorities agitated the citizens to believe that there was a plot involving resident Koreans and drove the Japanese people to hunt innocent Koreans indiscriminately. This led to over 6,000 Koreans being killed. Finally, in order to justify the mass-murder, they forged a high-treason plot involving a Korean anarchist.

According to statistics from 1933, there were, at the time, 9 Korean anarchist groups in Japan involving some 660 participants. One active group, "Heok Woo (Black Friend) League", was organised in 1930 and existed for five years producing 35 issues of their paper. They suffered police arrests and a very poor financial situation which forced them to discontinue. However, while they existed their

newspaper was secretly flown into Korea, providing their comrades in their homeland with their main source of the latest news, information and messages.

In one of their newspapers they discussed the need to develop new tactics to improve the effectiveness of the movement; "Why is the anarchist movement of today inactive? Because anarchists have not established the theory of how to organise themselves into a more effective movement. We are not familiar with systematic movement and this has become an obstacle to our movement."

For the workers movement, "the Dong Heong Labour Union" was established in 1928 and the "Tokyo Labourers League" in 1933. Many of the active members lost their jobs or were arrested by the police and their newspapers were continually confiscated. In order to resist this oppression they sometimes engaged in joint operations with Bolshevik trade unions. In spite of their desperate effort, however, the labourers movement in Japan, including the movement of the Japanese themselves, was falling into a deep slump.

One of the Japanese anarchists recalled in his memoirs; "Nevertheless, in spite of the terrible situation of those days, anarchists did not stop in their attempts to rebuild their movement." Under severe oppression by the government many of the participants were arrested or gave up. The labourers movement was in despair. Moreover, anarchists had to face the tide of fascism; but the vigorous fight of the anarchists in the Spanish Revolution cast a light on us and encouraged many anarchists, though most of the Korean anarchist organisation in Japan was dispersed. A few secret societies barely managed to keep their movements operating underground. Thus, the see-saw game of continued oppression and resistance went on until 1945, when Japan surrendered.

The Movement in the Homeland until 1945

1924 saw sporadic movements from small anarchist bands. The League of Black Flag, Nihilist Party, were the most militant, with strong opposition to the Japanese Imperialists. They were active in leaflet distribution and calls for support until 1926 when they were all arrested. A secret society called the "Yichon Freedom Group" consisted of over a hundred young people and penetrated into farm villages. They tried to build up a communal district and propagate their anarchist creeds. An impressive ideological debate on art and literature continued with the bolsheviks for many years.

Soon after the comrades associated with Park Yeols' treason case were released, they returned to Korea and founded the "League of Truth and Fraternity" in 1925. Their first move was a campaign to rescue Park Yeol and his wife. They also imported anarchist material through a secret channel to aid in the propagation and research of anarchism. Thus, they expanded their organisation step-by-step. They believed in social revolution. They believed that only violent measures would realise it. As a result they decided to assassinate high ranking officials and destroy government structures. However, the following year they were detected and had to serve 3-5 years of penal servitude.

Korea has a mutual aid system as a traditional custom in civilian society, which is called "Kae". This is a spontaneously organised peoples' group. The main purpose of each Kae group differs, but the main principle is to help each other and maintain friendly relationships in common. Some are organised for marriage or mourning; on farms for planting and harvest and sometimes as an industrial guild. Under Japanese rule these activities were not allowed and some Kae groups were put in jail charged with a false plot in the Jaeju district.

After the forcible, unilateral Korea-Japan talks of 1875, Pusan port was opened in 1879 and Wonsan port in 1880. On the other hand, Russia began developing Siberia at the end of the 19th Century. Moti-

vated by this project, many Korean farmers hurried to Russia as an agricultural immigration.

Statistics show that prior to 1911 some 59,577 Koreans had immigrated into Russia, but after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, refugees to Russia climbed to some 250,000 people. As a result, bolshevik influence in the port of Wonsan was significant and provided what must have been a tough opponent to the anarchists, particularly in the labourers movement. Strife within radical circles continued until the anarchist "Bonnunga Society" was dispersed.

Up until the 1930's the Anarchist movement was mainly a sporadic one. In 1927, the "Black Society" of the Kwanseo district was established by Choi Kap-Ryong. In the same year, a Black Society of Tan Chun district appeared. Others followed in the Anju district in 1929 and the Chusoin district in 1930, established by Jeong Chul and Hong Hyung-Eui. Hong Hyung-Eui was also a founder of the Korean Esperanto Cultural Society and contributes much in diffusing Esperanto. Later, as a professor and as manager of Choung-Ku University he devoted himself to educational works.

However, due to continued Japanese oppression many anarchist comrades had to flee to Manchuria or elsewhere and the anarchist movement was destroyed. In order to recover the movement, in 1929 the Kwanseo Black Society proposed to hold the Pan Korean Black Socialist Conference. Choi Kap-Ryong and eight other comrades were elected to form a preparatory committee.

Many anarchists arrived in the city of Pyongyang, but, as expected, Japanese police interfered strongly. Some were arrested at the station, some forcibly expelled from lodgings. Yu Rim arrived from Manchuria and was arrested despite Choi Kap-Ryong's attempts to help him escape. Yu Hyeon-Tai, the representative of the Japanese "Freedom League" was sent back to Tokyo, where he vanished.

Despite having this plan crushed, the "Korean Anarcho-Communist Federation" was established in the same year, becoming the first na-

tionwide anarchist organisation in Korea.

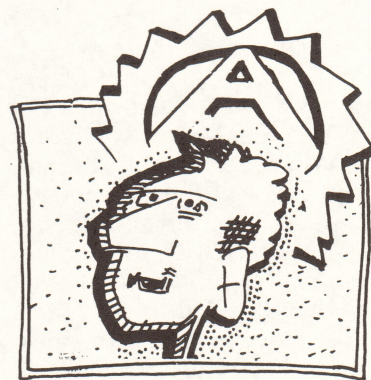
Despite pauses and slumps, this organisation still exists, and most anarchist groups in Korea today are descended from the Federation. The 4th General session was held at Taigu city on 21st of August 1987.

We have now looked at Korean Anarchism in the homeland until 1945. It is true that the anarchist's urgent and immediate tasks had to include the fight to regain national independence. Their energetic activities concentrated into resistance; sometimes depending on terrorism, sometimes sabotage, sometimes disobedience. It is also true that of those who devoted their lives to the independence movement, anarchists most kept the honest poverty. They never compromised with authoritarianism and mammonism even in their worst situation.

Really, I do not want to adorn the movement by admiring their boldness, bravery and their honest poverty. We have also to admit the faults in our own past movement with honesty. One criticism is that they neglected to develop theoretically and they failed to research how to realise anarchism in the reality of Korean culture and in its characteristic social features. I think the lack of research in this field might possibly cast a shadow on the post-war movement after 1945.

Part 3 will appear in the next issue of The Anarchist Age.

C.I.R.A. — KOREA
K.P.O. Box 1938
KWANGHWAMOON
POST OFFICE SEOUL
KOREA.



What Type of Society is the Soviet Union

by Peter Panoutsos

When Lenin's Bolshevik Party emerged as the victor in the 1917 Russian revolution, it was hoped that the Bolshevik's having emerged as the largest proletarian movement in the world, would succeed in their ambitious third international, to inspire the workers of western Europe to unite and revolt against their respective political systems.

Of course widespread revolution never came to the rest of Europe. However, Lenin succeeded in creating a new order in Russia by creating a one party system, whereby the state was subordinate to the communist party. Therefore, Lenin's revolution lead to greater centralisation of government which resulted in the loss of government powers to the ruling party. This meant that political initiative rested with the party. Since the revolution Lenin and subsequent leaders of the communist party have not hesitated to employ coercive means to control the affairs of government and ensure predominance of party policy.

The European powers took notice of these developments in Russia and sought to differentiate between their political systems and the new born Soviet state.

The Soviet Union which emerged after the first world war did not succeed as Lenin had hoped in its desire to oversee a workers revolution in Europe. As a result the Soviet Union quickly became a closed society, politically isolated on the northern continent. The communist party of Russia used any means available to dominate the economy and all other political and social activities. This left a gaping hole in the party's initial platform of revolution. The masses were not included in the decision making process; the state was unable to respond to the party's dominant rule; and the government was by no means made subordinate to the will of the people. These are factors which are totally alien to a 'real' communist state.

The Soviet Union which emerged from the 1917 revolution was ruled by a group of elites emanating from within the party in most cases. Leaders like Stalin solidified their leadership by employing violent means and liquidating all

those who stood in their way.

The various ruling elites since Stalin have sought to distance themselves from such evil doings, but of course the legacy of such tyrants as Stalin still remains. The centrality of power in the Soviet Union since the revolution remains to this day as well. Indeed, this is the fallacy of communism which states that power will be diffused and dispersed amongst the people. The communism of the Soviet Union is not at all a reflection of the ideal communist state.

In the Soviet Union: the workers continue to function as tools of the state for the interests of a ruling elite; secondly the workers have no role in the decision making process; and thirdly, the continued suppression of alternative opinions and points of view by the party creates a situation where the main source of information for the masses originates from the dissemination of party propaganda.

These features of the Soviet system are not ones which can be moulded for international communist designs. What must be understood is that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has failed to lead the workers in that country to a state of liberation. Successive leaders of the Soviet Union have been solely obsessed with dominating the political system — thus climbing the mantle of power. Furthermore, it is the higher organs of power which prevail in defining the political agenda and indeed can and do dictate policy to the less powerful groups in society.

So what type of society is the Soviet Union? The expectation is either some form of state management (capitalist) or communist. The fact is, that it is neither communist or state capitalist. It is not communist because only the interests of a ruling body are being served. And it has no program for equality of opportunity for the majority of its people.

The principle of common ownership in the Soviet Union has been exhausted by the practices of the state. Those farms and enterprises in private hands, simply do not have the power to resist the commands of higher authorities even to the smallest detail like durabili-

ty of goods produced. Such practices by the state only serves to increase the rigidity of the Soviet system and not to compel the people to work together with the satisfaction that all workers have a say in the production of commodities. The inability of a society to promote the interests of its people and to dismantel institutions of power does not constitute a communist society.

Despite these inequalities in Soviet society, the Soviet Union cannot be characterised as a state capitalist society. The Soviet system does not constitute as a class system because there is no property owning class that generates wealth.

In the Soviet Union the system of organisation of production and exchange of commodities dominates the Soviet economic system. It was not implemented to replace free competition in the market place because free enterprise has never flourished in the Soviet Union. Free competition is the main driving force of the capitalist mode of production. The lack of a free capitalist bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, which not only provides the basis of competition by promoting commodity exchange relationships but is also an essential component of a capitalist state is deemed as undesirable by Soviet authorities because of its entrepreneurial nature. In the Soviet Union there are no such opportunities for these types of economic relationships to occur under the existing centralised system. The paradox is that the Soviet Union prevents the accumulation of productive property in private hands because under the present hierarchical system it cannot allow a class of people to exist by having access to and controlling an infinite amount of resources. But this does lead to a situation where society as a whole controls or even has a say in the economic affairs of the country.

The failure of the Soviet Union to assume a true communist identity has lead to the creation of the Soviet Union's present politico-economic system; rule by force and central control of the economy and society. The Soviet Union more than any other totalitarian state has shown the failings of Marxism by exhibiting communism as unattainable.

Clydeside Here and Now

Glasgow is a large declining city where there has been a massive loss of manufacturing industry. Paradoxically it has become a city of hope and a model for promoting the unpromotable. Ostensibly to counter the past association of mindless gang violence, sectarian conflict and labour strife ('red Clydeside'), the Local Councils are busily papering over the cracks and sponsoring a New Image. This image, invented by Labour District & Regional Councils, is in total harmony with the Enterprise Culture which is the ideological flagship of Thatcher's Britain.

Glasgow has a long libertarian socialist tradition, from the 1890s to the 1980s: the most significant moments being the untiring propaganda of Guy Alfred & his followers for 50 years up to 1960, and the impact of the Glasgow Anarchists during the Second World war as a focal point for resistance to militarism & industrial appeasement. In an article in 'Freedom' (Jan 1985) the focus is brought up to 1984 and special attention made of the preceding 3 years when the agitational broadsheet 'PRACTICAL ANARCHY' was widely distributed. The monumental efforts of the Anarchist group as a support group during the Miners Strike dominated the 1984-5 period, and the aftermath of fines and exhaustion rendered minimal the impact of a collective anarchist approach locally during 1985-5.

It was in that period that the first issues of HERE & NOW were published. The collective had been formed of a coming together of activists concerned at the anti-theoretical standpoint of the anarchist group (not uncommon!) and others who had engaged in years of post-situationist discussion groups. The first issues therefore represented an outpouring of all the theoretical thoughts that had first surfaced in the brief 'clydeside Anarchist' journal of 1984.

The first two issues contained, however, a number of articles which raised uncomfortable questions. The communist ideas of the Khmer Rouge had been influenced by Parisian ultra-leftism; while the depoliticisation of Clydeside coincided with the dispersal of the population and the onset of consumer products concentrated

domestically. Issue 3 signalled an interest in Poland that resurfaced in issue 6 and which will form the cornerstone of issue 7 in late 1988. Theorists as diverse as Castoriadis, Lasch, Baudrillard and Bockchin have been the subject of critique, in issues 2-4. West Yorkshire Discussion Group members contributed articles in issues 2 & 4, and produced the entire issue 5, which continued on the theme of the Invasion of Exchange and the contradictory features of social movements.

The key features in issue 6 grapple with the New Right policies which are now colonising all areas of social life, while a parallel article poses questions as to how the 'Libertarian' Right have capitalised on the failures of vulgar leftism and repackaged a 'new' appeal whereas the libertarian left are characterised as 60s romanticism. Incidentally, one of the central problems in breaking out of marginalised appeal is the blockage in distribution outlets. The alternative bookstores of the late 70s are closing down as the chainstores have taken over distribution in the more popular strands of alternative culture: namely feminism, ecology and personal wellbeing. Consequently even the most strenuous efforts to distribute locally, nationally and internationally are unlikely to reverse this trend since non-commercial magazines are not attractive to the main companies.

The real diversity in publishing lies outside commercialism in a Samizdat (self-publishing) culture increasingly alike East and West. In Clydeside, apart from Here & Now, there have been a number of other developments in the past 2 years. Variant magazine is an anti-capitalist project challenging the commercial art world and the cynical recuperators of the post-modern cultural industry. Clydeside Press combines printing with publishing and in 1988 has made a local impact with WORKERS CITY, an anthology of resistance in a variety of writing styles and counterposed to the 1990 European City of Culture which Glasgow assumes after Paris & Berlin. Considerable media attention has characterised the anarchists and independent dissident radicals, as defenders of 'Red Clydeside' and

therefore reactionary. The book, combined with autonomous discussion circles such as the 'Free University' have helped to rebuild the confidence and networks of mutual support.

On an agitational level there is an upsurge in activity centered on the CLYDESIDE RESISTANCE broadsheet. It exists to popularise the no-compromise approach of refusal to pay the Poll Tax which is being imposed on the Scots prior to England and Wales in 1990. Many of the younger activists continue to pursue 'moral' issues led by the Vegan Action Group and Hunt Sabs. To a lesser extent than Edinburgh, but occasionally important nonetheless, is the distribution of COUNTER INFORMATION, the internationally circulated broadsheet documenting struggles and their common ground.

It is likely that the present upsurge in the circulation in libertarian socialist ideas will continue, at least until the flashpoint over the Poll Tax & City of Culture issues in 1989/90. The opportunity is increasingly emerging to recreate a public sphere of more high profile opposition. In a city pacified by the grip of Labourism the challenge will be to promote opposition & dissent that is neither vulgar, stodgy or a mimic of leftism. The social conditions and patterns of work in modern times demand that the agitation, propaganda and public meetings we engage in strike a chord that is going forward into the future while learning from the past and present.

HERE & NOW: 3 overseas sub to "G.P.P." from p/h 2, 340 West Princes St., Glasgow G4 U.K.

Variant Magazine, 1.30 + post, from 76 Carlisle St., Glasgow G22. U.K.

Workers City, 3.50 + p + p, from Clydeside Press, 37 High St., Glasgow G1 U.K. Clydeside Resistance available c/o Clydeside Press for donation.

Counter Information, 11 Fourth St., Edinburgh, for donation. Edinburgh Review no. 82 will have an article on 1970s/80s anarchism in Glasgow, available in photostat from HERE & NOW, by donation.

Send a C90 tape and donation of stamps for 'free University' tape on the History of Clydeside Anarchism, especially during WW2.in (also via 'Here & Now').

THE PLATFORM

"The Platform" are a theatre group based in New York city. The purpose of this group is the presentation of the works of playwrights who, due to oppression in their native countries cannot freely express themselves in their work. The following is the "mission statement" of the group:

The PLATFORM is a not for profit theatre and is dedicated to defending freedom of expression and human rights.

The Platform is founded by young and dedicated theatre artists from around the world. It is situated in New York City and performs in English.

The Platform aims to be the home of all oppressed playwrights in the world, striving to produce works of playwrights who cannot function in their native countries.

The Platform concentrates on performing works that cannot be produced in the playwrights' native countries because of political, social, racist, sexist or any other kind of oppression. It will give life to works of playwrights who have been banned, imprisoned or ideologically underestimated because of their convictions and victimized because of the lack of freedom of expression.

The Platform will perform works from every country in the world, mainly concentrating on countries in which writers, artists and intellectuals are oppressed.

The Platform has four main goals:

- 1) To create an artistic and political medium where every issue can be introduced, discussed and expressed freely.
- 2) To introduce works of playwrights who were and are suffering because of their convictions.
- 3) To expose what is going on in the world to the American public.
- 4) To eliminate censorship resulting from oppression, that the playwright imposes on himself.

The Platform will function as follows:

- 1) The Platform will search for

works which are not producible in their native countries.

- a) Playwrights can submit their plays directly to the theatre. The plays can be submitted in the language in which they have been written and the usage of pen-names is acceptable.
 - b) Critics, artists or laymen who know of oppressed playwrights or plays, are welcome to write to The Platform and give any information about either. After receiving preliminary information, The Platform will contact the mentioned artists and reach their works. All help will be deeply appreciated.
- 2) After getting hold of a number of plays, The Platform will select and contact the writers, get rights to the productions, translate them into English and perform them for a few weeks during which the works will be introduced to The American World.
 - 3) Upon the permission of the writers, The Platform will aim to prolong the life of the plays and have them produced by other theatres where they can be seen and appreciated by a larger audience.

The Platform will start its performance in 1990. As for today, it continues its search for works which are unproducible in their native countries.

The Platform needs your SUPPORT. If you believe that you can help The Platform in anyway, or need further information, contact us. Please do not leave us alone in our struggle for creating a happier future in which people do not suffer from oppression and are free to express their convictions.

The Platform can be contact at:

23 Lexington Avenue,
Suite 1606
New York
NY 10010
U.S.A.

Acappella — Poland

"Acappella is an independent underground zine of the Anarchist group of 'Freedom and Peace' edited in Gedansk..."

The Libertarians Works for a Self-Managed Society have recently began receiving copies of Acappella. We are reviewing it in order to let other people become aware of the existence of this Polish group. The magazine is published in Polish and consists of some 20 closely typed pages. The group thoughtfully enclose an English language overview of the contents which consists of a report on a convention in Sweden, repression in Yugoslavia against independent peace activists, military service in Poland, comment on a peace festival, Sacco and Vanzetti; the family; fragments of a novel, agriculture and the environment, the French Anarchist Federation, and much more.

The group are also involved with "The Club of Prisoners of the Borders" which is an organisation trying to bring about a situation in Poland and elsewhere where people are automatically granted a passport on request, rather than the present situation of political control of travel which acts a strong influence on many people who fear that "overstepping the line" will stop them being given a passport. They stress that people all over the world who lack this freedom are invited to join with them. They have declared the 13th of August (the day of the erection of the Berlin Wall) as the "International Day of Prisoners of Borders".

Acappella and "Prisoners of Borders" can be contacted at:

KRIYSZT OF GALINSKI
U1. Kruszevskiego 37/34
81-851 SOPOT
Polska



A National Meeting of the West German Anti-Sexist Men's Movement, 1-5 June 1988

Will Firth, Passau, West Germany

On a showery Wednesday afternoon and full of excitement about the coming gathering I arrived in Freiburg (near the French border in the far SW of W.Germany). Taking a local train southwards towards the seminar-house where the gathering was to be held, I met the first other participants — four cheery men in their late 20's and 30's all the way from W.Berlin. From the station we were picked up and taken to the gathering-venue, a large country-house among the steep wooded hills of the Black Forest. Men continued arriving throughout the afternoon and by evening we were about 40. By Friday there were over 70. A number brought children, and child-care was provided each morning. The 4 days altogether gave me a good opportunity to judge the size and direction of the men's movement in this country. Participants agreed that the composition of the gathering was representative. — there were some men who had been involved for many years and others who were at one of their first meetings. Men over 40 could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and there were few who were not from a "middle-class"/tertiary-educated background.

The movement here has its most identifiable roots in the youth radicalism of the late 60's. After a phase of self-awareness and discussion groups, the first magazines and concrete projects began to emerge in the early 80's. Now there are men's centres in over a dozen cities, and telephone-counselling services, some gay-oriented, in several more. Gay influence in the movement seems very small, in contrast to the US movement. There is state funding for some local educational projects and the like, but generally there seems to be little government receptiveness towards the movement and its ideas (a fact which no-one finds surprising). Several men queried whether men's activities are concerted and coordinated enough to justify the word 'movement'.

This national gathering was the

6th, and it is conceived that gatherings will continue to be held and serve as a major forum for networking, contacts and ideas beyond the narrow scope of particular campaign meetings. The Freiburg men's group organised this gathering, and another local group somewhere around the country will arrange the next. Several of the longer-involved men were optimistic at this gathering and see signs of a steady surge of directed positive energy. One indicator of how far anti-sexist men's ideas are(n't) spread is that the 1987 edition of the Men's Diary, produced by a group in Cologne, was printed in 14,000 copies to be distributed in W.Germany (population about 60 million), Switzerland and Austria. There is a monthly magazine called **Von Mann zu Mann** (From man to man) which has appeared for several years.

Contact with the men's movements of other countries seems sporadic and on a personal rather than an organizational basis, but this is felt to be OK — the changes we need to make are in the first instance personal and cultural and therefore local. There are contacts in particular with the Dutch, Swedish and US movements. These movements all seem to serve as a lesson or example, be it because of their earlier formation, their degree of institutional success, or their size and energy. Apart from myself, other 'foreigners' at this gathering were from Luxembourg (1) and Switzerland (2), though none from the three movements mentioned or from Britain. One interesting phenomenon discussed in one of the workshops I attended was the fact that sizeable men's movements exist predominantly in the protestant capitalist countries and not, for example, in France, Italy or Ireland. No news from Eastern Europe.

I'll mention now selectively a range of the titles of discussions and workshops held at the gathering, a mixture of self-awareness and more activist-oriented topics: men and friendship, Paragraph 218 (of the Constitution — restrictive

legislation on abortion), andrology (health and medicine for men), possible priorities for the movement, sterilization, open relationships, a campaign for more part-time work opportunities for men, a slide-showing and discussion on the difficult distinction between pornography and erotica. The gathering was also very casual with lots of free time, morning massage and meditation groups, lots of games, opportunities for walks, a party and improvised cabaret-show on the last night, etc.

There seems to be less of a 'Hippie/mother-earth tendency' than in Australian men's circles, although this is still a lot for a German cultural-political movement, bearing in mind that the dryness, over-organizedness and authoritarianism in our popular stereotypes of the Germans is not too wrong! There was little interest in discussing changing men in the context of broader social change and based on a power-analysis. In the 4 days of fairly intensive contacts I didn't meet anyone who mentioned involvement in an anarchist group, left-wing party, or in radical unionism. Despite the widespread realization that 'the personal is political' etc. there seems to be a certain apoliticalness...

I'm not a person who's up with men's movement literature. I was surprised to hear the respect with which some Australian writers were spoken of. The name Bob Connell sticks in my mind. There was considerable interest in the Australian movement and it was a shame that I, as a not-terribly-active participant (and away from it all for a year to boot) was not able to satisfy all the curiosity. I think it would be good to make/retain(?) contact with the German movement and exchange experiences. One of the concrete results of the gathering is that a new national newsletter is being set up.

Anyone who would like to contact Will regarding this article please write to:
Will Firth, c/- P.O. Box 20,
Parkville 3052 Australia.
And we will forward mail onto him.

Better Ballot Bitter Battle

by Neal Wilgus

Out Under, Australia (LEAK) — The Commonwealth of Australia voted unanimously today to sue the rest of the World for plagiarism and copyright infringements resulting from the unauthorised use of the Australian Ballot over the past century. The Commonwealth is asking the World Court for 6.5 trillion dollars in users fees, plus 103.65 trillion in interest and another 59.717 trillion in damages, to be paid over the next decade through the United Nations and the International Red Cross. The World has declined to comment on the case, on advice of counsel.

"There is no question that the form of voting used almost everywhere on Earth today is an Australian invention," said attorney Happy G. Lucky at a news conference where the suit was announced. "The universal use of state issued, preprinted ballots and of the curtained voting booth, which are the essentials of the Australian system, is beyond question at this point — they're ancient history, in fact. The only remaining question is — when is the World gonna pay up for stealing our idea?"

Leaders of Australia's Shadowtarian Party have long maintained that the Aussie Ballot has been the Commonwealth's most important contribution to World Politics and a pretty snappy idea to boot. "This is how Australia has put its imprint on Civilization," Lucky told reporters, "and we think it's high time we get our just returns. History was rewritten when the World adopted our Ballot, and now it's time to pay the piping."

Lucky pointed out that American history alone would have been quite different if, for instance, the Australian Ballot had been used in the 1888 election and Grover Cleveland had been elected to his second term that year, instead of being defeated by Benjamin Harrison, who had fewer popular votes but more electoral ones.

"In tha scenario," Lucky said,

"Cleveland would have subsequently been numbered only as the 22nd American President, instead of being both the 22nd and the 24th as he is now, with Harrison the odd 23 in between — thus screwing up the numbering from there on. History would have been different, as it has become as a result of the later use of the Australian Ballot, so to speak," Lucky concluded.

Meanwhile, a countersuit is being prepared by the Totalitarian Dictators Union, International, claiming cruel and unusual damages and psychic stress as a result of the widespread use of the Aussie Ballot in watering down their power and glory. "We've had to become PR men and TV actors to satisfy the damned, sacred Ballot and we're sick of it," said Cal Ygula, spokesman for the TDUI. "It's time we threw the damned thing out and got back to Might Right as soon as possible — NOW!"

The Commonwealth was out to lunch and could not be reached for comment on the TDUI action.

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Anarchist Media Institute

The Anarchist Media Institute was established to organize public discussions, provide speakers for groups who wish to learn more about anarchism, provide speakers for television, radio and newspaper interviews and publish Anarchist books and pamphlets.

THE AUSTRALIAN ANARCHIST CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS BOOK, Melbourne, Australia, 1—4th May 1986 was published in 1988. It is a 160 page book with over a hundred photographs of the celebrations. Its available for \$5.00 plus postage from the Anarchist Media Institute.

EMIGRAZIONE ANARCHICA ITALIANA IN AUSTRALIA by Moreno Marchi is a 40 page pamphlet (written in Italian) giving the history of Italian Anarchist immigration to Australia. Its available for \$1.50 plus postage.

Make out cheques or money orders to: MUTUAL AID add 50% for postage within Australia and 100% for postage airmail overseas.

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BOX P.O.A. 6
ALPHINGTON 3078
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YES, BOTH ARE SYMBOLS OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF OPPRESSION, EXPLOITATION AND MANIPULATION OF THE PUBLIC, TO NAME BUT A FEW....



INTERNATIONAL RESURGENCE OF ANARCHISM

The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society receive a large quantity of anarchist magazines and newspapers from all corners of the globe. We have listed these magazines and newspapers, their content and size to wet your appetite so that you will consider writing and subscribing to them. If you would like further information about any of the magazines listed please write directly to the publishers.

AUSTRALIA

MUTUAL AID 1988. 14 pages.

P.O. Box 187
West End 4101
Queensland.
Australia.

A publication by a libertarian Catholic group.

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE TELEvised

36 pages.

A booklet on the Campaign for free expression in Queensland by Ciaran O'Reilly.

LET'S NOT GET CARRIED AWAY 23 pages.

A booklet of poems from the Brisbane Catholic Workers Community's experience of conflict with the Queensland government.

SPARKS No's 7-17, Apr. 1987 — Nov/Dec. 1988. 20 pages.

P.O. Box 1066
North Richmond 3121
Victoria.
Australia.

Magazine of the Public Transport Workers Association.

REBEL WORKER Aug. 1987-Dec. 1988/Jan. 1989. 20 pages.

P.O. Box 92
Broadway 2007
Sydney
Australia.

The magazine of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation produced on a monthly basis.

REBEL WORKERS PAMPHLETS

CUBA — THE ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTY by Frank Fernandez. 20 pages.

LENIN AND THE WORKERS CONTROL by Tom Brown. 16 pages.

BLACK AND BLUE June/Aug. 1987. 18 pages.

P.O. Box 257
Collingwood 3066
Australia.

Black and Blue is a magazine produced by the Anarchist Black Cross in Melbourne.

CIRCLE A Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan., 1988. 11 pages.

Propaganda Collective
Box 92, Students Union
Macquarie University
N.S.W. 2109
Australia.

The paper of the Anarchist Students' Union.

TO THE DARING BELONGS THE FUTURE July, 1986. 34 pages.

P.O. Box 1066
North Richmond 3121
Victoria.
Australia.

A booklet produced by the Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation in Melbourne outlining anarchist achievements of the Spanish Revolution of the 1930's.

VACANT LOT 1988. 4 pages.

Freedom Collective
P.O. Box 203
Fremantle 6160
Australia.

A broad sheet produced in West Australia.

STAND UP AND SQUAT 1988. 13 pages.

P.O. Box 332
North Quay 4002
Australia.

A magazine produced by the West End Anarchists from Queensland.

REDFERN BLACK ROSE ANARCHIST BOOKSHOP

April 1988. 8 pages.

MAIL ORDER CATALOGUE

26 Botany Road
Alexandria
N.S.W. 2015
Australia.

Available books from one of Sydney's anarchist bookshops.

ACTIVATE No. 2. 12 pages.

P.O. Box 509
Port Melbourne 3207
Victoria.
Australia.

A magazine from a group of Port Melbourne Anarchists.

BLACK STAR Vol. 2. No. 1., 1988. 35 pages.

A.S.U. (Sydney)
Box 92,
Students Council
Macquarie University
N.S.W. 2109
Australia.

Black Star is a well produced magazine from the Anarchist Students Union at Macquarie University in Sydney.

UNITY July/Aug. 1987. 7 pages.

P.O. Box 214
Broadway 2007
N.S.W.
Australia.

The magazine of anarcho-syndicalist postal workers.

RED AND BLACK No. 16, Winter 1987; No. 17, Summer 1988. 44, 48 pages.

P.O. Box 115
Enmore
N.S.W. 2042
Australia.

Red and Black is published twice a year and is a collection of essays/articles on various aspects of Anarchist thought.

SQUAT IT No. 16, Nov/Dec. 1988. 39 pages.

301 St. Georges Road
North Fitzroy
Victoria. 3065
Australia.

ANARCHIST NETWORK NEWSLETTERS 1988. 4-6 pages. Monthly

These newsletters are produced irregularly for the internal information of the Melbourne Anarchist community.

ARGENTINA

IDEAACCIÓN No. 5, Feb./March, 1987; No. 6, Apr./May/June, 1987. 13 pages, 17 pages.

Grupo Impulso
Sarmiento 4694
Rosario
Argentina.

Ideaaccion is a small Anarchist magazine produced by Grupo Impulso in Rosario.

EL LIBERTARIO No. 11, No. 12, 1987/88. 4 pages

F.L.A. (1154)
Buenos Aires
Argentina.

A four page Argentinian Anarchist newsletter.

ORGANIZACIN OBRERA. No. 33, Apr./May, 1987. 4 pages.

Jesus Gil — C. Salvadores
1200 Buenos Aires
Argentina.

A publication from the Organa de la Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina. Also a leaflet on the visit of the Pope and one on May Day.

SENDAS No. 6, June/July, 1988. 3 pages

A small Argentinian newsletter.

BOLETIN INFORMATIVO DE LOS GREMOS No. 96, Dec. 1987 4, 4, 8, 4 pages

DEMOCRATICOS No. 97, March 1988.

Casilla d Correo 1138
Correo Central
1000 Buenos Aires
Argentina.

An Anarchist newsletter produced in Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM

DE NAR March 1988. 12 pages.

Bunderdneef 2
1710 Dilbeek
Belgium.

A Flemish language magazine full of information but not specifically anarchist.

ALTERNATIVE LIBERTAIRE No's 88, 103, March

1987-Oct. 1988. 24 pages.

2 Rue de l'Inquisition
1040 Bruxelles
Belgium.

Alternative Libertaire is a French language regular Anarchist publication from Brussels.

CANADA

REALITY NOW No. 7, Summer 1987. 31 pages.

P.O. Box 6326
Station A
Toronto
Ontario
Canada M5W 1P7

A very informative Canadian Anarchist newspaper.

OPEN ROAD No's 21, 22, 23, 24, 1988. 10 pages.

Box 6135
Station G
Vancouver
B.C. V6R 4G5
Canada.

Open Road is an Anarchist journal from Canada.

FOCUS 1988. 4 pages.

61 Duluth est
Montreal
Kebek H2W 1G8
Canada.

This is a listing of publications from Unikorn in Montreal Canada, producer of Anarchist and Libertarian books.

ECOMEDIA No's 14, 15 Dec. 1987. 4 pages.

C/o P.O. Box 915
Station F
Toronto
Ontario M4Y 2N9
Canada.

An Anarchist bi-weekly from Toronto.

ATTENTION YOUTH! 1988. 1 page.

Sydicat des Eleves
C/o Librairie Alternative
2035 Boul. St-Laurent
Montreal
Quebec H2 X2 T3
Canada.

This is a one page flyer for the gathering of information on youth/children's liberation.

KICK IT OVER No's 17, 18, 20, 21 1986-1988 23 pages.

P.O. Box 5811
Station A
Toronto
Ontario
Canada.

Kick It Over is a Canadian Anarchist newspaper.

CHILE

CHORO 4 pages

Underground.
Photocopies available from:
P.O. Box 20
Parkville
Victoria 3052
Australia.

A Chilean pamphlet distributed by Hombre Y. Sociedad.

CUBANS IN EXILE

GUANGARA LIBERTARIA Vol. 8, No's 29-34, 1987-88. Vol. 9, No. 35. 31 pages

P.O. Box 1516
Riverside Station
Miami
Florida 33135-1516
USA

A quarterly magazine, written in Spanish and published in Miami in the USA.

EAST EUROPEANS IN EXILE

IZTOK No's 14,15, Sept. 1987; March 1988 64 pages
B.P. 70
75563 Paris
Cedex 12
France

A french language, well produced magazine about Anarchist activity in Eastern Europe published in Paris.

FRANCE

VOLONTE ANARCHISTE 32-33, 34, 85, 60 pages.

145, rue Amelot
75011 Paris
France.

This is an Anarchist magazine produced by the Groupe Fregnes-Antony.

ANTISEMITISME ET POGROME DE BEYROUTH

32 pages.
B.P. 243
75564 Paris Cedex 12
France.

This is a booklet by Fredy Perlman and produced by L'Insecurite Sociale.

L'ANARCHIE No's 121-150, Mar 1981-Nov 1988. 2-4 pages.

Marcel Renoulet
boite postale 205
42005 Saint Etienne
Cedex
France.

This publication is a newsletter of the Alliance Ourie've Anarchiste.

LE LIBERTARE No's 78-86, July 1987-May 1988. 4 pages.

25, rue Dune-d'Aplemont
76600 Le Havre
France.

Le Libertarie is a monthly newspaper produced in Le Havre.

LUTTER! No. 14, Dec. 85; No. 19, Apr. 1987; No. 24, 1988. 20, 16, 16 pages.

B.P. 602
75530 Paris
Cedex II
France.

Lutter is a project by French Libertarian Communists.

INTERROGATIONS April 1988. 18 pages.

C/o IS
BP 243
75564 Paris
Cedex 12
France.

A magazine dealing with largely environmental issues.

CHRONIQUES LIBERTAIRES No's 3, 4, 5, 6, 1987/88. 20, 24, 24, 24 pages.

C/o Centre de Propagande et de Culture Anarchiste
B.P. 21
94190
Villeneuve-Saint-Georges
France.

An Anarchist journal which reviews local and international Anarchist Press.

I.E.A. BULLETIN No. 51, Oct. 1987. 12 pages.

145, rue Amelot
75011 Paris
France.

This is a bulletin of the Internationale des Federations Anarchistes.

L'HOMME LIBRE No's 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, March 1987-Sept. 1988. 16 pages.

Boite Postale 205
42005 Saint-Etienne
France.

L'Homme Libre is a small quarterly magazine produced in St. Etienne.

LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE No's 699-730, March-Dec. 1988. 12 pages.

145 rue Amelot
75011 Paris
France.

Le Monde Libertaire is the weekly newspaper produced by the French Anarchist Federation.

LE BRULOT No's 259-268, Nov. 1987-Sept. 1988 2 pages. 30b rue Molere

F93170
Bagnole
France.

A series of pamphlets from Gustave Arthur Dassonville.

L'UNISME No. 1, Apr./May/June, 1988; No. 2., July/Aug./Sept., 1988. 4, 6 pages.

B.P. 105
94402 Vitry Cedex
France.

A small French magazine.

GERMANY

SCHWARZER FADEN No's 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. 2-3-4-1987. 1-2-3-1988. 71 pages.

Postfach
7031 Grafenau-1
West Germany.

Schwarzer Faden is an excellently produced anarchist magazine from Germany.

SUBVERSION No. 15/16. 80 pages.

Postlagerkarte 002263B
D-1000 Berlin 12
West Germany.

A magazine of "modern revolutionary thought".

TRAFIK No's 21-26, 28, 23, 67 pages.

Verlagund Versand
Internationaler libertärer Medien
Peter Peterson
Edvardstrasse 40
4330 Mulheim/Ruhr 1
West Germany.

Trafik is a journal of libertarian culture and politics.

GREECE

ANTIEEOYSIA 2 31 pages.

Aohna Kasaph
T.O. 31421
100 35
Adnva 47
Greece.

Antieeoysia is a small well produced Greek Anarchist magazine.

MAOHTIICH ANTIEEOYSIA 1988. 16 pages.

T.O. 31421
100 35
Adnva 47
Greece.

A small glossy magazine dealing with local Greek issues.

UNION OF ANARCHISTS 7 pages.

DECLARATION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES AND AIMS
P.O. Box 26050
Athens 10022
Greece.

A published copy of the Union of Anarchists agreement of aims.

AYTODIEYOYNESH 1987. 32 pages.

T.O. 31209
T.K. 10035
Athens
Greece.

This is a Greek Anarchist magazine.

DOKIMH No's 14-20, 1987. 16 pages.

P.B. 26050
10022
Athens 5
Greece.

Dokimh is a 16 page, monthly Greek Anarchist newspaper.

ANARXIA Oct. 1987-Jan. 1988. 8 pages.

Tax. Oup. 26050
10022
Athens
Greece.

Anarxia is a fortnightly Greek Anarchist newspaper.

AYTODIAOESH No. 12, 1987. 40 pages.

A Greek Anarchist magazine.

DELTIQ ANTI-PLHROORHSHS 4 pages.

P.O. Box 30658
10033 Athens
Greece.

A small publication and newsletter from an Anarchist group in Athens.

ANARXIKH BIBLIOOHKH No. 2, 1988. 25 pages.

A Greek booklet from the Anarchist Library in ???.

SVOPSIRWON AVARXIKWV 1988. 8 pages.

A Greek Anarchist bulletin.

AVARXIKO DESTIO PSNROCORNONC 1988. 16 pages.

T.O. 30658
10033 Athens.
Greece.

A Greek Anarchist magazine.

DIAKHRYEH THS ENOSHS ANARXIKON 1987. 8 pages.

Articles arising from a Greek Anarchist Conference in 1987.

IRELAND

AINRIAIL No. 7, March/April 1987 12 pages

C/O 7 Winetaven Street,
Belfast 1
N. Ireland

Ainriail is a small magazine produced by Belfast Anarchist's focussing particularly on Northern Ireland.

ITALY

BOLLETTINO DI COLLEGAAMENTO NAZIONALE

No's 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 1988. 12 pages.

Vincenzo Italiano
C.P. 391-80100
Napoli
Italy.

An Italian magazine produced in Naples.

COLLEGAMENTI WOBBLI No's 19, 20, 21, 22, 1987/88. 74 pages.

C/- Comitato Cabral
Via Massena 31
Torino
Italy.

A very well produced magazine from Turin.

LAGITATORE 7 Issues 1987-88. 16 pages.

C.C.A.
L.A. Scirbante
Via C. Marcurinon 9/D
Giattinara
Italy.

A magazine from the Gruppo Anarchico in Giattinara.

SEME ANARCHICO No's 58-67, 1987. 8 pages.

Casella postale 217
25154 Brescia
Italy.

A small Anarchist magazine produced in Brescia on a monthly basis.

ARAVISTA ANARCHICA No's 135, 148-157, 1986-1988. 42 pages.

Editrice A
Cas. post 17120
20170 Milano
Italy.

Aravista Anarchica is an excellent, well produced magazine published monthly by Milan Anarchists.

UMANITA NOVA 1986-1988. 8 pages.

Federazione Anarchica Italiana
Viale Monza 255
20126 Milano
Italy.

Umanita Nova is a weekly newspaper produced by the Italian Anarchist movement.

OPERAICONTRO No's 39-45, June, 1987-June, 1988. 8 pages.

Casella Postale 17168
20170 Milano Leoncavallo
Italy.

Operaicontro is a magazine produced every 2 months in Milan.

SENZAPATRIA No. 26, Nov/Dec. 1984 and No's 38-44, May/June, 1987 — Oct/Nov., 1988. 16 pages.

C.P. 72
Calolziocorte
B.6.
Italy.

Senzapatria is an anti-military and anti-authoritarian magazine.

PROVOCAZIONE Feb. 1987-July 1988

C.P. 61
95100 Catania
Italy.

This is an Anarchist magazine from Catania in Italy.

ANARCHISMO No's 56-61, March 1987-July 1988. 40-95 pages.

A.M. Bonanno
C.P. 61 — 95100
Catania
Italy.

A well produced magazine which looks at contemporary issues from an Anarchist viewpoint.

AUTONOMEN No's 18/20, 21/23, 24/25, 1987/88.
10/8/13 pages.

Edizioni Sapere Collettivo
Via Finuli 29
20092 Cinisello Balsamo
Italy.

A magazine of the autonomist movement in Italy.

SICILIA LIBERTARIA No. 54, 56, 57, 1988. 8 pages.

Giuseppe Gurrieri
Vico L. Imposa
4-97100 Ragusa
Italy.

A bi-monthly Silican Anarchist newspaper.

COMIDAD No's 56, 57 April, June 1988. 12, 16 pages.

Vincenzo Italiano
C.P. 391
80100 Napoli
Italy.

An Anarchist bulletin for the collegamento nazionale in Naples.

ANARKIVIU No's 0, 1, 2, 20, 30 19 pages.

Via Mons Helas
No. 24-09040 Guasi
La (CA)
Italy.

A small Italian Anarchist magazine.

POESIE EROTICHE 1988. 15 pages.

Casella Postale B11
Torino
Italy.

This is a small book of erotic poetry by Georges Bataille.

CONVEGNO DI STUDI SUL 60 ANNIVERSARIO 1987
4 pages.

DEL CASO SACCO E VANZETTI

Antonio Lombardo
12050 S. Benedetto Belbo
Villa falletto
Italy.

A leaflet showing the programme of a convention for the 60th Anniversary of Sacco and Vanzetti's deaths, held in Villa falletto in 1987.

CENTROLIBRI Sept. 1983. 14 pages.

di Salvatore Marletta
Vico Rao 8 — 95124
Catania
Italy.

A somewhat dated catalogue of Anarchist and libertarian publications held by Centrolibri.

GLI EROI GUERRESCHI COME GRANDE CRIMINALI

1987. 38 pages.
Piazza dello Spirito Santo, 2-5110
Pistoia
Italy.

A small booklet written by Camillo Berneri.

CAMILLO BERNERI 1986. 251 pages.

Archivio Famiglia Berneri
Piazza dello Spirito Santo
2-51100
Pistoia
Italy.

This is an anthology of Camillo Berneri's works.

SACCO E VANZETTI A SESSANT'ANNI DALLA MORTE 1988. 190 pages.

Moreno Marchi
Via Alessandro
Volta 14
18038 San Remo (IN)
Italy.

A book published from the conference on Sacco and Vanzetti's 60th Anniversary.

APPUNTI SUL CINEMA NERO AMERICANO 1987. 64 pages.

Pietro Ferrua

CDP — NOTIZIARIO No. 88, 1986. 32 pages.

Centro de Documentazione di Pistoia
Casella Postale 347
Via degli Orati 29
51100 Pistoia
Italy.

This is a listing of groups and magazines held by the Centre, dealing with Anarchism, anti-nuclear and ecology issues.

EDIZIONI ANARCHISMO 1987. 190 pages.

Casella Postale 61-95100
Catania
Italy.

This is a catalogue of publications for sale from Edizioni Anarchismo.

GERMINAL No. 53, 1988. 14 pages.

Via Mazzini II
34124 Trieste
Italy.

A regular Anarchist newspaper produced in Trieste.

COMMUNISMO LIBERTARIO No. 8, 1988. 8 pages.

Cassella Postale 558-57100
Livorno
Italy.

This is the journal of the Italian Libertarian and Anarchist Communists.

FEDERAZIONE DEI COMUNISTA ANARCHICI 1986.
40 pages.

"LA NOSTRA TATTICA GENERALE"

Segreteria Nazionale
Donato Romito
C.P. 144-61100
Pesaro
Italy.

This is the record of the 1986 Congress on General Tactics of the Federation of Anarchists Communists in Italy.

IRRITA IL PAPA! May, 1988. 4 pages.

C.P. 257
42100 Reggio Emilia
Italy.

An anticlerical publication produced by the F.A.I.

HOMO SAPIENS No's 0, 1 1987/88. 20, 46 pages.

C.P. 705
70100 Bari
Italy.

Homo Sapiens is a small left-libertarian magazine from Bari.

JAPAN

HIROSHIMA ANARCHIST BULLETIN No. 21. 2 pages.

1539 Ibara
Shiraki Asakijaku
Hiro si Maci
Hirosimaken
Japan.

The bulletin of the Anarchists of Hiroshima.

LIBERTAIRE Vol. 23, No. 1-3, Vol. 24, No. 1. 22 pages.

Yach Iyodai Kita
7-4-60
Yachinjo-shi Chiba
276 Japan.

This magazine has been published for over twenty years by a Tokyo based Anarchist group.

JAPANESE TRANSLATIONS OF:

One Man Revolution in America.	24 pages.
Leon Tolstoy by P. Eltzbochor	20 pages.
Society Without The State	20 pages.
Tolstoy On Power	12 pages.

Translated, printed and available from.
Isoya Takero c/- P.O. Box 20, Parkville 3052 Australia.

KOREA

FEDERATION OF KOREAN ANARCHIST BULLETIN

1988 No. 1. 8 pages

P.O. 1938
Kwangharamun
Seoul, Korea
Tel. (053) 72 0275

An A3 newspaper in Korean which gives a report on the 4th Anarchist Conference held in Korea.

MEXICO

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD No. 459, May, 1987 48 Pages

Apartado Postale
10596
Mexico I. D.F.

A Mexican magazine produced for over 50 years.

REGENERACION Nov., 1987. 2 pages

A.P. 9090
Mex. IDF
Mexico.

A newsletter from this Mexican Anarchist organisation.

INQUIETUDES No. 460 May 1988. 49 pages

Eliseo Rojas
Apartado Postal M-10596
Mexico L.

A magazine from Mexico published by Tierra y Libertad.

NETHERLANDS

INTERNATIONALE ANARCHISTISCHE 1988. 64 pages.

BIJEENKOMST
de IAB-Groep

Postbus 1610
Nijmegen
Netherlands.

A booklet explaining the programme of the International Anarchist meeting in Ruigoord, near Amsterdam, which ran from 23rd — 27th June, 1988.

RECHT VOOR ALLEN No. 2, 1988. 20 pages.

Fis. P. Calandlaan 50
P.B. 1149
Amsterdam
Netherlands.

Recht Voor Allen is a small magazine produced as a Social Anarchists Organ.

DE ZWARTE No. 97, 19/3/88. 31 pages.

Postbus 10233
Den Haag
Netherlands.

De Zwarte is a well produced Anarchist magazine from The Hague.

NIEUWE STRIJD No's 37, 39 May, 1986, May, 1988. 16 pages.

Voltastraat 22
2517 RM
Den Haag
Netherlands.

This is a magazine produced by the Independent Union of Revolutionary Syndicalist union.

TOTALWEIGER No. 1, Feb. 1988. 11 pages.

p/a Totalweigerspreekuur
AMB
Pontanusstraat 20
Nijmegen
Netherlands.

Totalweiger is an Anarchist magazine from Nijmegen.

MUSICA ANARCHICA No. 79, July-Sept. 1987. 40 pages.

Postbus 43
2750 AA
Morkapelle.
Netherlands.

This is a booklet produced by the de As group dealing with music and anarchism.

DE RAAF No's 70, 73, 74 1987/88. 42 pages.

Postbus 51217
Amsterdam.
Netherlands.

De Raaf is an Anarchist magazine published in Amsterdam. This magazine contains a wide selection of anarchist articles.

BUITEN DE ORDE Nr. 4. Oct., 1987. 14 pages.

Faustlaan 34
Amstelueen
Netherlands.

A magazine from Dutch Anarchists.

NEW ZEALAND

ANTI-SYSTEM 12 Aug. 1988. 48 pages.

C/- Anarchy Organisation
P.O. Box 14156
Kilbirnie
Wellington
New Zealand.

Anti-System 12 is a punk/anarchist magazine from Wellington in New Zealand.

THE STATE ADVERSARY Dec. 1988. 12 pages.

A.A.A.
P.O. Box 78 - 104
Grey Lunn
Auckland
Aotearoa
New Zealand.

A magazine from Auckland in New Zealand.

POLAND

ACAPPELLA No. 12. 18 pages.

Krysztof Galinski
vl. Kraszewski ego 37/34
81-815 Sopot
Poland.

This is an Anarchist magazine from Poland.

PORTUGAL

A BATALHA No. 117, No. 119 8 pages

Apartada 5085,
1702 Lisboa Codex
Portugal

A Batalha is a Portuguese Anarchist newspaper founded in 1919. It appears every 2 months.

A IDEIA: Libertarian Manifesto for an end of Century. 3 pages

Av. Guerra Junqueiro, 19 - 5o, Eo
P-1000 Lisboa
Portugal

A Ideia is a "Review of anarchist culture and thought". In this case they have sent a copy of their view of Anarchism towards the end of the century.

ANTI-TESE No. 2, March 1985; No. 7, Nov./Dec./Jan. 1986/87; No. 8, Feb./Apr./May, 1989 31, 31 and 39 pages
Centro de Cultura Libertaria
Apartado 40
2801 Almada Codex
Portugal.

Anti-Tese is a Libertarian Education magazine produced in Portuguese.

EKOMEDIA No. 1., May 1987. 4 pages
CD.1 Centelha
Apartado 241
3003 Coimbra Codex
Portugal.

Ekonomia is a bulletin of Portuguese news from a Libertarian perspective produced in English.

100 ANOS DE ANARQUISMO EM PORTUGAL 1887-1987 216 pages
Biblioteca Nacional
Lisboa

A bibliography of material produced in the last century of Portuguese Anarchism.

TECNOLOGIA E LIBERDADE 1988 316 pages
Editora Semiteira, CRL
Av. Guerra Junqueiro, 19-5o Esq.
P-1000 Lisboa
Portugal.

A book of essays looking at technology and what it means for the Libertarian Anarchist Movements, published in Portuguese.

SPAIN

CENTRO DE DOCUMENTACIO HISTORICO-SOCIAL ATENEU ENCICLOPEDIC POPULAR
Montalegre, 5,
Barcelona 1
Spain.

An Anarchist documentation centre and library.

ROJOY NEGRO No. 2, No. 3, Feb./Mar./April 1988. 12 pages.
Redaccion
C/Sagunto 15
Spain.

A newspaper from Spanish Anarchists.

IL LIBERTAD No. 6, Nov. 1987; No. 9, Apr. 1988. 8, 6 pages.
C.A.S.P.A.
Apdo de Correos
No. 55 106
28080 Madrid
Spain.

A newsletter from the Coordinadora de Ayuda Solidaridad los presos Anarquistas in Madrid.

CNT No's 90-93, 95-98 Apr. 1987—Sept. 1988. 16 pages
C/- Magdalena 29
2o Piso
Madrid
Spain.

The monthly newspaper of the breakaway C.N.T.

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA No's 180-194, March 1987-Sept. 1988. 12 pages.
Reina Cristina
12, 2o, 29, 129
Barcelona 06003
Spain.

Solidaridad Obrera is produced as the organ of the C.N.T. of Cataluna and has existed since 1907.

POLEMICA No's 27-33. March 1987-May 1988. 34 pages.
C/- Valencia 465
4o, 3a
08013 Barcelona
Spain.

Polemica is a critical, informative Anarchist magazine.

CENIT No's 200, 203, 206, 207, 208, 210 March-May, 1987. 9 pages.
Cenit-CNT
CCP 15 574 49K
33 Rue des Vignoles
75 020 Paris

Cenit is the organ of the CNT in exile.
Also, CENIT — sociologia-ciencia-literatura.
A supplement with no. 206, April 1987.

CULTURAL LIBERTARIA No. 11 June, 1987. 16 pages.
Apdo 1687
01080 Vitoria
Spain.

This is a catalogue and library of current and past Anarchist literature produced as a bulletin.

BOLITIN INTERNACIONAL No. 2, May 1987. 4 pages.
A Spanish international bulletin from the C.N.T.

SWEDEN

LIBERECANA LIGILO No's 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 1987-1988. 12, 12, 12, 14, 14, 14 pages

Liberecana Ligilo is a small magazine produced by the Anarchist/Libertarian wing of the world Esperanto movement.

BRAND (PREV. TOTAL BRAND) Nos. 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. 27 pages
Box 150 15
5-104-65
Stockholm
Sweden.

Brand is a Swedish Anarchist magazine looking at local and international activities. Previously known as Total Brand it is some 90 years old.

AN INDEPENDENT FIGHTING TRADES UNION FOR SYNDICALISTS 6 pages
Syndikalisterna
Sueavagen 98
113 50 Stockholm
Sweden.

This is the platform of an independent anarcho-syndicalist union in Sweden which functions with some 15,000 members.

SWITZERLAND

CENTRE INTERNATIONAL DE RECHERCHES SUR L'ANARCHISME No. 3. 46 pages.
Bibliothèque du C.I.R.A.
Cose Postale 214
CH — 1211 Geneve 13
Switzerland.

An annual catalogue of new acquisitions of the C.I.R.A. library based in Geneva, Switzerland. One of the most comprehensive Anarchist libraries in the world. Well worth a visit.

TURKEY

KARA No's 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1987. 35 pages.
P.K. 1053
34437
Sirkeci
Istanbul
Turkey.

A Turkish Anarchist magazine from Istanbul.

UNITED KINGDOM

SPECTACULAR TIMES 44 pages.
C/- Freedom Press
84b. Whitechapel High Street
London E1
England.

A booklet entitled "cities of illusion" — poem, pictures, comments.

A PINCH OF SALT No. 9, 1988. 20 pages.
C/- 24 South Road
Hockley
Birmingham B18
England.

A Christian Anarchist magazine.

ANARCHIST POCKETBOOKS
The Great French Revolution 1789-1793 (Vol. II) by Peter Kropotkin.
Anarchism and Violence, Severino di Giovanni in Argentina 1923-1930 by Osvaldo Bayer.
Sabate, Guerilla Extraordinary by Antonio Tellez.
The Conquest of Bread by Peter Kropotkin.
The Angry Brigade 1967-1984, Documents and Chronology.

Produced by:
Elephant Editions
B.M. Elephant
London WC IN 3XX
England.

A number of books produced by Elephant Editions.

SPECTACULAR TIMES Pocketbook Series No. 14. 66 pages.

Box 99
Freedom Press
84B Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX
England.

A booklet of comment, humourous and otherwise, from an anarchist viewpoint.

BUFFO
84B Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX
England.

A magazine from the people who also produce Spectacular Times.

FROM RIOT TO INSURRECTION 1988. 59 pages.
C/- Elephant Editions
B.M. Elephant
Londo WCIN 3XX
England.

A pocketbook of analysis for an anarchist perspective against post industrial capitalism.

PAVLOVS DOGS 21 pages.
C/- Boomtown Books
167 King Street
Aberdeen AB2 3AE
Scotland.

An anti-authority magazine from Aberdeen.

SOLIDARITY No's 14/15/16/17 1987-1988 19/16/16/16 pages.
C/- 123 Lathan Road
London E6
England.

A libertarian socialist magazine containing analytic articles and book reviews published quarterly.

BULLETIN OF ANARCHIST RESEARCH No's 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 Aug. 1987 — NOv. 1988. 16, 10, 20, 18 pages.
T.V. Cahill
Dept. of Politics
University of Lancaster
Lancaster LA1 — 4YF
England.

A magazine of anarchist comment and discussion.

HERE AND NOW No's 5, 6 23, 21 pages.
P/H 2
340 West Princes Street
Glasgow G4
Scotland.

A well produced twice yearly Anarchist magazine.

GREEN ANARCHIST No. 19 Summer 1988. 20 pages.
19 Magdelen Road
Oxford OX 41 RP
England.

The magazine of the Green Anarchists in the U.K. Also we have a copy of their position and programme.

LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION. Vol. 2. No. 3 Winter. 19 pages.
The Cottage
The Green
Leire
Leicestershire
England.

This magazine aims towards the Liberation of Learning.

BLACK FLAG No. 181 April, 1988. 8 pages.
B.M. Hurricane
London, WC IN 3XX
England.

A newspaper for Anarchist Resistane.

DIRECT ACTION No's 39-53, May 1987-No. 1988. 10 pages.
C/- 84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX
England.

The regular newspaper of the Direct Action Movement, a British anarcho-syndicalist organisation.

ENDLESS STRUGGLE No. 8, Summer 1988. 22 pages.
Hooligan Press
BM Hurricane
London WCI
U.K.
A magazine from England on Anarchist activity particularly in Europe.

COUNTER INFORMATION No. 21, Oct/Nov. 1988. 4 pages.
p/h C1
11 Forth Street
Edinburg, EH 1
Scotland.

This is a small magazine of news from Edinburgh.

UNITED STATES

THE STRAIT 1988. 399 pages.

A novel by Freddy Perlman produced by Black and Red in Detroit.

SRAF BULLETIN No. 102 April, 1988. 14 pages.
C/- Mick and Drake No. 104 7 pages.
P.O. Box 11966 No. 104.5 11 pages.
S.I.C. No. 103 14 pages.
Utah 84147
U.S.A.

A small anarchist periodical.

SOCIAL ANARCHISM Vol. 6, No's 1, 2, 1986; No. 13 1987/88. 80/98 pages.

Atlantic Center for Research and Education
2743 Maryland Avenue
Baltimore, MD
U.S.A. 21218

A semi-annual journal of practice and theory consisting of essays, reports, and articles on various aspects of anarchism.

FIFTH ESTATE Vol. 23, No. 1, No. 2, 1988 27/31 pages.
P.O. Box 02548 Vol. 22, No. 3, Fall 1987
Detroit Vol. 21, No. 2, Spring 1987
MI 48202
U.S.A.

Fifth Estate is a quarterly Anarchist magazine.

ANARCHY — A JOURNAL OF DESIRE ARMED No's 14, 15, 16, 1988. 31 pages.

C/- C.A.L.
P.O. Box 1448
Columbia
MO 65205-1448
U.S.A.

Anarchy is a magazine produced by the Columbian Anarchist League.

BAYOU LA ROSE No's 24, 25, 26 1987/88. 25, 31, 16 pages.

Survival Network Information Center
P.O. Box 2576
San Diego
CA 92112
U.S.A.

A Journal of working class, ecological, libertarianism, and human rights activism produced quarterly in California.

SURVIVAL NETWORK NEWSLETTER No. 35, 1988. 58 pages.

P.O. Box 2576
San Diego
CA 92112
U.S.A.

A newsletter produced by the Survival Network Information Center.

LITTLE FREE PRESS No's 1, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65. 4 pages.
2714 1st Ave. S.
Minneapolis
MN. 55408
U.S.A.

A small libertarian newsletter produced by Ernest Man.

OVERTHROW Spring 1988. 23 pages.

P.O. Box 392 Spring 1987
Canal Street Sta.
New York
NY. 10013
U.S.A.

An anti-authoritarian paper produced by the American "Yippie" movement.

THE RACE TO DESTRUCTION — ITS RATIONAL BASIS 1988 Ed. 20 pages.

This is a booklet by Noan Chomsky.

FREEZINE May 1988. 19 pages.

P.O. Box 1465
Troy
NY 12180
U.S.A.

A small Anarchist magazine from New York State.

MINNEAPOLIS GATHERING '87 HANDBOOK 1987. 29 pages.

Back Room Anarchist Books
2 Fast 27th Street
Minneapolis
MN 55408
U.S.A.

The handbook for the "Building the Movement" Anarchist gathering held last year in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

THE GENTLE ANARCHIST Vol. 1, No. 6, 1984. 23 pages.

An American Anarchist Vol. 1., No. 6, 1984. 23 pages.
An American Anarchist magazine: this copy dating from 1984.

GAY ANARCHIST CIRCLE 6 pages.

P.O. Box 840
Washington DC
U.S.A. 20044

This is a small, gay Anarchist magazine from Washington.

THE ARROW No's 1, 3; 1985, 1986. 8 pages.

Mackay Society
Box 131 Ansonia Station
New York
NY 10023
U.S.A.

A small publication from the Mackay Society in New York.

THE INDICATOR 1985. 7 pages.

A small information bulletin from the U.S.A.

ANARCHISM 28 pages.

Looking Left
SUNY — Binghamton
New York 13901
U.S.A.

A publication explaining the basis of Anarchism from the "Looking Left" group in the U.S.A.

PROCESSED WORLD No's 19, 20, 22. 48 pages.

37 Clementina Street
San Francisco
CA 94105
U.S.A.

A non-authoritarian white collar work magazine produced by a collective in San Francisco.

IDEAS AND ACTION No's 8/9/10, 1987, 1988. 24, 20 pages.

P.O. Box 40400
San Francisco
CA 94140
U.S.A.

Ideas and action is an excellent anarcho-syndicalist magazine produced by the Worker's Solidarity Alliance.

CIRCLE A No. 11

P.O. Box 57114
Atlanta
Georgia
30345-1114
U.S.A.

A small magazine from Anarchists in Atlanta.

FACTSHEET FIVE No's 22, 25, 26, 27. 68 pages.

Gunderloy
6 Arizona Avenue
Rensselaer
NY 12144-4502
U.S.A.

An excellent magazine of publications and music together with reviews of these products.

SYNTHESIS No. 25, 26; July, Dec. 1987. 21 pages.

P.O. Box 1858
San Pedro
CA 90733-1858
U.S.A.

A magazine of social ecology, deep ecology, bioregionalism, ecofeminism, and the green movement.

GREEN SYNTHESIS No. 28, Sept. 1988. 15 pages.

P.O. Box 1858
San Pedro
CA 90733
U.S.A.

This is a new version of "Synthesis" magazine.

A NEW WORLD RISING No. 6. 8 pages.

A publication from the U.S.A.

THE SEDITIONIST No's 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 18 pages.

Incendiary Publications
203 Leslie Street
Lansing
MI 48912
U.S.A.

A magazine from the United States.

BLACK ROSE BOOKS Spring/Summer, 1987. 48 pages.

340 Nagel Drive
Cheektowaga
New York 14225
U.S.A.

A Catalogue from Black Rose Books in the U.S.A.

CIAO ANARCHIC 1986. 111 pages.

Black Rose Books
33 East Tupper Street
Buffalo
New York 14230
U.S.A.

A photographic, lavishly produced, documentation of the 1984 Anarchist meeting in Venice.

URUGUAY

ENCUENTRO March/April, 1988; July, 1988; 8 pages; 12 pages.

Comunidad del Sur
Casilla 15229
Montevideo
Uruguay

A small newsletter produced in Montevideo.

URUGUAYANS IN EXILE

COMUNIDAD No's 57/58, 59, 60, 61/62, 63, 64, 65. 40 pages.

Box 15 128
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Suecia.

A Spanish language Anarchist magazine from Uruguayans living in Sweden.



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Thu	2	9	16	23	30	Thu		6	13	20	27
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Thu	2	9	16	23	30	Thu		7	14	21	28
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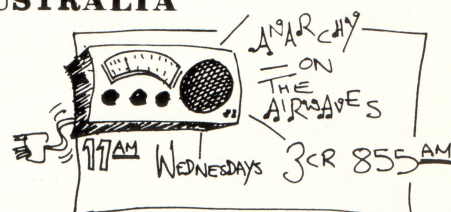
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